



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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5 August 1993

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CONTENTS

5 August 1993

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

CENTRAL AFRICA

Congo

Presidential Group, Opposition Sign 'Libreville Accord' [Brazzaville Radio]	1
Atmosphere of 'Reconciliation' [Paris International]	2
Delegates React to Agreement [Libreville Radio]	2

Rwanda

Peace Agreement Signed; New Premier Appointed [Dar es Salaam International]	3
President Habyarimana Hails Accord [Kigali Radio]	3
RPF Chairman Comments [Kigali Radio]	4

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Further Reportage on Continuing Violence in East Rand	5
Mandela Urges Peacekeeping Force [SAPA]	5
Calls For Peace at Rally [SAPA]	5
Joint Tour With Buthelezi Planned [SAPA]	5
ANC, IFP Discuss Issue [Johannesburg Radio]	5
Police Announce Measures [Johannesburg TV]	6
Police 'Swoop' in 'Mega Numbers' [SAPA]	6
Come Under 'Heavy Gunfire' [SAPA]	6
Red Cross Ambulance Attacked [SAPA]	6
Military Vehicles To Move In [Johannesburg Radio]	7
IFP's Buthelezi Says U.S. 'Interfering' in Affairs [SAPA]	7
Multiparty Talks Reaffirm 'Sufficient Consensus' Concept [SAPA]	7
ANC, IFP Hold 'Constructive' Meeting on Negotiations [Johannesburg TV]	8
Strike by Cape Town Municipal Workers Ends [Johannesburg Radio]	8
South African Press Review for 5 Aug [THE CITIZEN 3 Aug, etc]	8
* Evolution of ANC Economic Policy Analyzed [FINANCIAL MAIL 28 May]	9
* Oil Refinery Upgrading Projects Progress	11
* Total Costs [ENGINEERING NEWS 7 May] ..	11
* Caltex Refinery [ENGINEERING NEWS 7 May]	13
* Sapref Project [ENGINEERING NEWS 7 May]	13
* Natref Upgrading [ENGINEERING NEWS 7 May]	14
* Genref Expansion [ENGINEERING NEWS 7 May]	16
* Mining Companies Seeking Expansion Abroad [FINANCIAL MAIL 28 May]	17

SOUTHERN AFRICA

Angola

UNITA's Valentim Says Organization in Huambo 'to Stay' [Voz do Galo Negro]	20
Further Reportage on Government Attacks on Huambo	20
UNITA Positions Targeted [London International]	20
UNITA Representative on Bombing [Lisbon Radio]	21
FAA Spokesman on Raids [Luanda Radio]	22
Official Sets Conditions for Assistance to Huambo [Luanda TV]	22
Television Reports UNITA Using Toxic Bombs in Cuito [Luanda TV]	22
Dos Santos Favors UN Forces in Country After Cease-Fire [Luanda Radio]	23

Mozambique

Dhlakama-Chissano Meeting Scheduled for 'Next Week' [Maputo Radio]	23
Dhlakama Withdraws Demands on Renamo Governors [London International]	23
Government Rejects Opposition's Proposal on NEC Makeup [Maputo Radio]	24
Multiparty Talks Adjourned at Government Request [Maputo Radio]	24
Government Proposals at Resumed Talks [Maputo Radio]	24
Renamo Threatens Retaliation for Government Attacks [Lisbon Radio]	25
Argentine Personnel Said To Man Mobile Field Hospital [SAPA]	25

Swaziland

King Mswati Addresses SADC Delegation on Elections [Mbabane TV]	25
King Discusses Elections, Relations With Germany [Mbabane Radio]	25

Zambia

Government Expresses 'Concern' Over Nigerian Politics [Lusaka Radio]	26
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Zimbabwe

Farmers Hire UK Lawyer To Challenge State on Land Issue [Gaborone Radio]	26
Government Firm on Plan [Windhoek Radio]	26
Editorial Calls for Review of 'Flawed' Constitution [THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE 29 Jul]	27

WEST AFRICA

Liberia

ECOMOG Designates Areas for NPFL To Surrender [Monrovia Radio]	28
--	----

Nigeria

SDP Gives Abiola Majority Support in Presidency Bid [AFP]	28
Abiola Comments on Elections, Babangida Tactics [London International]	29
SDP Official on Abiola, Interim Government Decision [Lagos TV]	30
Government Comments on Abiola's 'Overseas Trips' [Lagos Radio]	30

Congo

Presidential Group, Opposition Sign 'Libreville Accord'

AB0408215593 Brazzaville Radio Nationale Congolaise Network in French 1830 GMT 4 Aug 93

["Libreville Accord" issued by the presidential group, the Union for Democratic Renewal-Congolese Labor Party, URD-PCT, the Union for Democracy and the Republic, UDR, and the Patriotic Union for National Renewal, UPRN, in Libreville on 4 August—read by studio announcer]

[Text] The presidential group, the URD-PCT Alliance, the Union for Democracy and the Republic [UDR]-Mouinda, and the Patriotic Union for National Renewal [UPRN], which met in Libreville from 29 July to 4 August under the auspices of His Excellency El Haj Omar Bongo, the Gabonese president, and in the presence of Ambassador Mohamed Sahnun, the OAU special envoy; French Cooperation Minister Michel Roussin; and General Raymond Damase Ngollo, the Congolese mediator, wishing to preserve peace and national unity, and in the supreme interest of the country, have decided to resolve through dialogue the political crisis that emerged after the early legislative elections.

A. The group also strongly deplores the atmosphere of violence and tribal hate in the country as well as the gross violation of individual and collective freedoms and the fundamental rights of people.

B. 1. It reaffirms its desire to show a greater sense of responsibility and to strive for the creation of favorable conditions that will restore lasting peace and the traditional climate of understanding, solidarity, brotherliness, and national unity between the various communities of Congo;

2. It reaffirms the need to contribute to the consolidation of democracy in Congo by strictly complying with the 15 March 1992 constitution and by definitely renouncing recourse to force or high-handedness in settling political differences;

3. It reaffirms the constitutional position and role of the president of the Republic as guarantor of national unity and independence and the state's continuity;

4. It reaffirms that the constitutional legitimacy and powers of the president of the Republic, who has been democratically elected through direct universal suffrage, cannot be challenged;

5. It reaffirms their determination to strictly adhere to all the commitments outlined in the 26 July communique as well as their willingness and determination to consider honoring the said commitments as being indispensable for creating the favorable conditions for implementing the present accord.

C. The parties: 1. State that the results of the first round of the early legislative elections from the polling stations are as follows: 114 deputies were elected with 62 seats for the presidential group, 49 for the URD-PCT Alliance, two for UDR-Mouinda, one for UPRN—and 11 constituencies where there will be run-offs;

2. Agree that the cancellation of the results of the first and second rounds of the early legislative elections will be brought before a seven-member arbitration college of practicing magistrates, who will be appointed as follows: Two from OAU, two from the EEC, one from Gabon, and two from France, in accordance with the law applicable for petitions and Congolese law;

3. Set at 15 days—from the date of the signing of this accord—the deadline for submitting petitions to the Congolese mediator, who will be required to register them and immediately forward them to the arbitration college, which will make a decision on it within a maximum period of three months, beginning from the date the petition is received. The date for possible partial elections will be fixed by the committee, mentioned in point five below, in accordance with the authorities mentioned in point eight;

4. Agree that the second round of elections in the 11 wards where there is a tie will be reconducted;

5. Entrust the organization and supervision of these elections as well as the announcement of the results by 15 October to a committee comprising representatives of the OAU, Gabon, France, the EEC, and any other country that may want to contribute, in accordance with the law applicable for all electoral operations and Congolese law. The Congolese mediator and the representative of each signing party will participate in the organization and supervision of the elections as observers;

6. Agree that the cancellation of petitions with respect to the election dispute as well as the holding of the second round and eventual partial elections must not in any way disrupt constitutional continuity, the smooth running of republican institutions, and the state's stability;

7. Agree that the parties of the presidential group, those of the URD-PCT Alliance, UDR-Mouinda, and UPRN must desist from any action that could jeopardize the terms of this accord and the 26 July joint communique;

8. Appeal to the president of the Congolese Republic in cooperation with the president of the Gabonese Republic, the OAU, and the French Government to see to the implementation of this accord.

[Dated] Libreville, 4 August

[Signed] Christopher Mouekeke, president [title as heard], for the presidential group; President Bernard Kolelas, for the URD-PCT Alliance; First Vice President (Levi Makami), for UDR-Mouinda; and representative (Andre Ganfina) for UPRN

In the presence of the mediator, OAU special envoy Mohamed Sahnun; Congolese mediator Raymond Damase Ngollo; French Ambassador to Congo Andre Michel; and Gabonese President Omar Bongo.

Atmosphere of 'Reconciliation'

LD0408210893 Paris Radio France International in French 1830 GMT 4 Aug 93

[Text] [Announcer] In Libreville, thanks to Gabonese mediation, the Congolese opposition and presidential faction have just taken an important step in the conflict that has lasted between them since the parliamentary elections. We are going right over to Libreville for a first eyewitness account about the atmosphere of reconciliation that reigned over the agreement. It comes from Bernard Kolelas, the main leader of the opposition. As you will hear, the tone is completely new:

[Begin Kolelas recording] The atmosphere was really fraternal. We embraced each other, we greeted each other, we and our brothers who came representing the presidential faction. We threw our arms around each other.

I myself launched an appeal to our activists, to our people, to start to dress their wounds, to move closer together, to make efforts to be friends with their neighbors again. I don't think we will wait for the results of the arbitration commission. We must make efforts from now, from the time of signing, we must make efforts to meet, to set off down the path of reconciliation and accord. Since we have the desire to come together, the desire to understand each other, I think that we will really reach our aim. [end recording]

[Announcer] That was Bernard Kolelas, speaking to Dominique de Courcelles. Now over to you, Assane Diop. Let's see what is in this agreement, since you were there when the negotiations started last week in Libreville.

[Diop] Yes, first of all the determination and political experience of President Bongo finally paid off. The Gabonese head of state has spent a week barring one day in reconciling the Congolese political rivals. The opposition and the presidential faction in the end ratified an agreement named the Libreville Accord, dated 4 August 1993. The document, which is two-and-a-half pages long, is signed by Bernard Kolelas for the opposition, and Christophe Moueke for the presidential faction. It has also been signed by President Omar Bongo, by the official Congolese mediator, by the arbitrator named by the OAU, and finally by the French ambassador to Congo.

The main outlines of the agreement provide on the one hand for the ratification of the first round of the parliamentary elections, and on the other hand the reorganization of the second round of the parliamentary by-elections [as heard]. During the next polls, the 11 seats where no candidate won a majority will be fought. As for the seats which have been in dispute, the cases will be submitted to an arbitration commission made up of magistrates appointed by Gabon, the OAU, the EEC,

and France. A committee appointed by the same countries and organizations will then be entrusted with organizing and supervising elections before 15 October.

In all there are eight points in the agreement. Each side has committed itself to respect them. President Bongo has been entrusted, among other things, with ensuring respect for the agreement that the Congolese people were so desperate to see.

[Announcer] It is hard to see whether one of the two sides—the opposition or the presidential faction—has given more ground than the other to reach this compromise. Here is the mediator, General N'golo, the Congo minister of defense:

[Begin N'golo recording] The results that have been accepted by both sides are the ones that emerged from the polls, and according to these results there are indeed 62 seats for the presidential faction, and 49 for the Union for Democratic Renewal-Moundou alliance [as heard], and one seat for the Patriotic Union for National Renewal.

But we can say that this agreement as it stands reflects quite faithfully the results of the first round, and as a whole I think that both sides have made concessions. [end recording]

[Announcer] That was General N'golo, interviewed by Ghislaine Dupont.

Delegates React to Agreement

AB0408211293 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French 1830 GMT 4 Aug 93

[Excerpts] The curtains fell this afternoon in Libreville on the all-Congolese negotiations that have been going on for the past seven days under the mediation of Gabonese President Omar Bongo. [passage omitted]

Now, we go on to the reactions recorded after the Libreville Accord, beginning with Christophe Moueke, leader of the Congolese presidential coalition, talking to our reporter Idelfam Apango:

[Begin recording] [Moueke] I am satisfied with the results we achieved. It was very tedious and laborious, and we faced several difficulties. What matters most, however, is that we managed to overcome them, which is to say that we are satisfied and happy about this outcome. We hope that by implementing this Libreville Accord and the joint communique signed in Brazzaville, in our country Congo, peace and tranquility, which are necessary for the development of our country, will return. We have no right to lose hope. We think that this agreement which we have just signed reflects the willingness of the various parties that signed it, and that each party will make the necessary efforts for its successful implementation.

[Apango] The agreement is marked particularly by the rerunning of the second round of the parliamentary elections which the opposition boycotted. Does the formula prepared by the mediators satisfy you?

[Moukeke] Surely, the formula satisfies us. In any case, it is the outcome of discussions we held together. So we fully share the points contained in the communique.

[Announcer] Here now is Bernard Kolelas, principal leader of the Congolese opposition.

[Kolelas] I am delighted. I am very happy with this acceptable agreement. It is a compromise seen from the perspective of African tradition. It is a solution secured according to the method of settlement by African palaver. There has been no victor, no vanquished. A large measure of credit goes to all those who contributed to bring about this solution, particularly to President Omar Bongo.

[Apango] So, Mr. Kolelas, we all know that these matters are not always easy to concretize on the ground. Signing the agreement is quite a good thing. But do you have any guarantees from your opponents of the presidential coalition to ensure that this agreement is implemented on the ground?

[Kolelas] The first guarantee is the international community. We are no longer alone. There is the arbitration college; there is the organizing committee, and we have President Bongo, the EEC, the French Government, the OAU—which, in themselves, constitute the guarantee. I think it is in the interest of all Congolese leaders to do all in their power in order that peace may return to our country.

[Announcer] Still on the guarantees for the Libreville Accord, let us listen to Omar Bongo, president of Gabon and mediator in the Congolese crisis.

[Bongo] I think that everyone was sincere, and in fact concerning this agreement, do you think it fell just like that, like a bolt from the blue? I did not have it just drawn up like that. Of course, there were modifications here and there. There were discussions. There were proposals, but they finally agreed on those that were contained in the agreement. And, I think they are responsible leaders, and when a leader speaks on behalf of his party, I think we should have reason to hope that the terms of this agreement will be respected.

[Apango] Mr. President, evil tongues are wagging that you are a bit too interested in the Congolese question. For instance, the Congolese national radio said two days ago that by offering his mediation to Congolese, President Bongo is busy launching his own presidential election campaign ahead of time. What is your answer to these accusations?

[Bongo] I do not meddle in problems, but when I am invited, I think I must answer the call. Recently, I was invited. I obliged, and this time I could say... [pauses] No, I cannot refuse because I have affiliations or blood

connections with a few Congolese. A man who does not recognize what he is is a wretched chap. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Rwanda

Peace Agreement Signed; New Premier Appointed

EA0508092593 Dar es Salaam Radio Tanzania
External Service in English 1600 GMT 4 Aug 93

[Text] [In] Arusha, a peace agreement has been formally signed between the Government of Rwanda and the Rwandan Patriotic Front [RPF] ending two years of war as well as paving the way for multiparty general elections. The signing of the peace agreement is a culmination of six protocols signed on different dates recently between the warring parties.

Under the peace agreement signed between President Juvenal Habyarimana and the RPF leader, Colonel Alex Kanyarengwe, the present government will remain in office until a transitional government is set up after 37 days from today. Similarly, under the agreement, multiparty general elections will take place in 22 months' time.

The Rwandan Government and the RPF have agreed on the appointment of Mr Faustin Twagiramungu [Republican Democratic Movement chairman] as a new prime minister of the broad-based interim government as agreed in power-sharing.

The historical event was witnessed by the facilitator of the peace talks, President Ali Hassan Mwinyi, [President] Melchior Ndadaye of Burundi, [President] Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, Prime Minister Faustin Birindwa of Zaire, and the OAU secretary general, Salim Ahmed Salim, together with the [Tanzanian] prime minister and first vice president, Honorable John Malecela.

[Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique Rwandaise in French at 1615 GMT on 4 August adds: "Also present was the outgoing Rwandan prime minister, Agathe Uwilingiyimana."]

President Habyarimana Hails Accord

EA0508103593 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique Rwandaise in French 1255 GMT 4 Aug 93

[Speech by Rwandan President Juvenal Habyarimana in Arusha, Tanzania immediately after the signing of the Rwandan peace accord—live]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, the Arusha negotiations are hereby crowned with the signing of the peace agreement. This is a key and decisive step.

But we are still left with the most important thing. Total commitment is required from each one of us. It will be necessary to ensure that the peace agreement is respected. It will be necessary to change our behavior. It

will be necessary for all of us as Rwandans, wherever we are, to shed feelings of revenge and antagonism. It will be necessary to heal our wounds, especially those in our hearts, in order to look to the future with confidence in the prosperity of our country.

We have just signed the peace agreement. Each Rwandan will find in it their deepest aspirations: Real peace, the tranquility which is their legitimate right, and their security which can no longer be alienated. The agreement is the result of a compromise. Everyone has something to lose in it. However, and this is most important, beyond individual and partisan interests, each Rwandan must believe that they have won something in the agreement. This is because the agreement must banish for ever the sufferings experienced by Rwanda, particularly since 1 October 1990. [passage omitted]

I take this opportunity to launch an urgent and solemn appeal to the international community for help to our country in the form of a special assistance program for the reconstruction of Rwanda. We thank in advance all donors who will provide generous assistance for national reconstruction. [passage omitted]

RPF Chairman Comments

AB0408192093 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique Rwandaise in French 1318 GMT 4 Aug 93

[Speech by Rwandan Patriotic Front, RPF, Chairman Alex Kanyarengwe in Arusha, Tanzania—live]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] The negotiations have culminated in today's ceremony. In the peace agreement, the two parties enter into a commitment to end the war once and for all, as opposed to the cease-fire, which was a provisional end to hostilities. Peace means above everything else the definitive end to fighting.

Second, peace assumes respect for the content of the peace agreement. Peace only becomes an irreversible reality if the causes of the war disappear or are disappearing. In particular, the negotiations were specifically designed to halt and banish forever the causes of the war. Today's signing only marks a very important step in the process towards peace. [passage omitted]

We call for the participation of all in order to help us implement what we have already accomplished. Each step in the implementation of the peace agreement is dependent upon the presence of the international neutral force. In particular, the disengagement of forces will only come about after the determination and organization of zones and gathering points by the international neutral force. It is only after the disengagement of the two forces that the displaced people can be resettled in their homes. The urgent need to deploy the international neutral force by the United Nations or the broadened Military Observer Group is important to us. [passage omitted]

Further Reportage on Continuing Violence in East Rand

Mandela Urges Peacekeeping Force

MB0508112893 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1234
GMT 4 Aug 93

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by the African National Congress, ANC: "ANC Press Statement by Nelson Mandela on His Return to South Africa"]

[Text] ANC president, Nelson Mandela, returned this morning from his state visit to Taiwan and Malaysia, where he held extensive and fruitful discussions with heads of state, government ministers organisations and business representatives. On his return President Mandela expressed his extreme concern about the untenable situation on the East Rand. He will visit the violence-torn area tomorrow (at a time to be announced on 5/8/93), and is arranging an urgent meeting with President de Klerk and senior SADF [South African Defense Force] and police generals.

Nelson Mandela expressed the need for urgent implementation of multi-party control of the security forces, and the establishment of a national peace keeping force without delay. Among matters he would discuss with President de Klerk would be the immediate and effective deployment of the SADF [South African Defense Force] into the area.

President Mandela emphasised that immediate steps must be taken to prevent further loss of life and property, and that this issue was receiving the highest priority of the ANC leadership and members.

Calls For Peace at Rally

MB0508132593 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1306
GMT 5 Aug 93

[By Guy Rogers and Raphael Banda]

[Text] Johannesburg Aug 5 SAPA—African National Congress [ANC] leader Nelson Mandela on Thursday accused hostel residents of conniving with top-level police commanders to foment violence in East Rand townships. Mr. Mandela called for the South African Police's [SAP] Internal Stability Unit to be withdrawn and for hostels to be guarded and regularly searched by locally-based police.

Addressing about 7,000 people at a rally in Katlehong, where 132 people have died since the weekend, he called for peace and reconciliation and for supporters to stop targeting people "just because they are Zulu". Followers should practise political tolerance and "remain calm", he said.

The ANC leader went on to say it was "quite clear that criminals in the hostels are acting in close co-operation with top officials in the police force".

Having apportioned most of the blame for violence elsewhere, the ANC leader did condemn some members of his organisation for "killing innocent people". The violence

was not just the responsibility of the government, he went on to say. "Real leaders do not just point fingers."

To loud disagreement from the crowd, he suggested that followers should "make friends with an Inkatha member in your area". "We must give them a shoulder to lean on," he said. "We must try to win them over."

Shots rang out from among the crowd when Mr. Mandela arrived at Katlehong's Huntersfield Stadium, and he waited for a moment before leaving his luxury German car. He walked around the stadium field and raised a clenched fist to cheers and applause from the crowd.

Gunshots were also heard soon after the ANC leader left the stadium. Police and Army helicopters continued to hover over the stadium as Mr. Mandela addressed the crowd.

Joint Tour With Buthelezi Planned

MB0508133393 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1317
GMT 5 Aug 93

[Text] Johannesburg Aug 5 SAPA—African National Congress [ANC] President Nelson Mandela announced on Thursday that arrangements were being made for him and his political rival, Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, to jointly tour East Rand townships. Mr. Mandela, speaking after a rally at Katlehong's Huntersfield Stadium, said: "We need to put in place a lot of strategies to stop the violence in the townships." He said a meeting of all political leaders was needed urgently to end violence.

ANC, IFP Discuss Issue

MB0408123293 Johannesburg Radio South Africa
Network in English 1100 GMT 4 Aug 93

[Text] Representatives of the ANC [African National Congress] and the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] met peace observers at the Natalspruit Hospital in Katlehong this morning to seek solutions to the violence on the East Rand.

IFP representative Hennie Bekker said before the meeting that although the violence, which has claimed the lives of at least 124 people since Saturday, seem to have abated, there seemed no real peace in the region. He said the ideal of the deployment of a national peacekeeping force on the East Rand could work if such a force was there only to assist the present security forces and not to replace them.

The United Nations representative in South Africa, Mrs. Angela King, said the UN would prefer a national peacekeeping force. She said experience in other countries had shown that a national peacekeeping force was far more effective than a UN peacekeeping force. However, if a request was put to the UN Security Council to send an international peacekeeping force to South Africa, it would be considered.

Police Announce Measures

MB0408195493 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in Afrikaans 1800 GMT 4 Aug 93

[Excerpts] Lieutenant General Johan Swart, divisional head of internal stability for the South African Police, says the present level of violence and lawlessness in the country is unacceptable. [passage omitted] General Swart today announced steps to bring the violence, particularly that in the unrest-hit East Rand townships, under control. Johan Claassen spoke to him:

[Begin Swart recording] The strong security force presence already deployed in the area will be considerably increased, beginning tomorrow. We will take very firm action against anyone involved in the violence. We will not hesitate to meet violence with violence from anyone attacking the community or the security forces. We are fed up with the continuing murders of policemen. I have therefore issued instructions that small-caliber machine guns be used in all our Casspirs [armored police vehicle], so that our police can defend themselves properly.

We will also go all out to confiscate as many as possible—if not all—illegal firearms in the area. I would also like to use this opportunity to warn certain people who own houses in these areas, and who allow these houses to be used by murderers to fire on the security forces as they like, that they are playing with fire. We will take very firm action against them, and it could well be that some of these people will be killed in the security force action. We will have strong support from the defense force. They are already operating in the area and reinforcements, many more of them, will be deployed. The police, together with the defense force, will be taking action against these people around the clock. [end recording]

Police 'Swoop' in 'Mega Numbers'

MB0508063993 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0451 GMT 5 Aug 93

[Text] Johannesburg Aug 5 SAPA—Police and defence force units have swooped on all East Rand townships in "mega numbers" to restore law and order, spokesman Captain Wickus Weber said on Thursday morning.

"It is not a house raid, not a raid against people. It's merely to clear the road and remove the barricades, to make the roads more accessible so that normal policing can start," he said.

"We hope that the residents will understand that this is an attempt to make their townships safer places for them."

He added that the operation was "the beginning of what was decided by cabinet—that law and order should be restored".

Come Under 'Heavy Gunfire'

MB0508080893 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0753 GMT 5 Aug 93

[Text] Johannesburg Aug 5 SAPA—Police came under heavy gunfire on Thursday morning as the fighting in East Rand townships continued for the sixth day.

Peace monitors reported that a white minibus had been driving through Katlehong on Thursday morning, its occupants shooting at residents.

The monitors said Wednesday night had been "relatively quiet" but police said they had been drawing heavy fire since dawn.

Police said that security forces had swooped on all East Rand townships in "mega numbers" to restore law and order but reporters on the ground said the only heavy police presence was near Huntersfield Stadium where African National Congress (ANC) President Nelson Mandela is scheduled to address a rally later on Thursday.

A police patrol near the stadium came under heavy gunfire about 8 AM. Armoured vehicles moved into the area en masse, but the gunmen disappeared. Residents filtered into the streets on Thursday morning trying to get to work, although no transport services were running in the barricaded-strewn streets. Police said they had deployed scores of personnel to clear away the barricades and make policing of the riot-torn areas more effective. They said graders were being deployed to fill in trenches.

The new police moves were being carried out "on cabinet instructions", police said.

And, in a further development, essential services to strife-torn Katlehong were terminated on Wednesday because of rent and services payment boycotts.

The latest moves follow Wednesday's killing of three people in a gunfight between police and township residents after a funeral procession for five people killed in violence last week in Katlehong.

The battle brought the death toll in East Rand townships since on Saturday to 132.

Red Cross Ambulance Attacked

MB0508121793 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1136 GMT 5 Aug 93

[Text] Pretoria Aug 5 SAPA—A Red Cross ambulance came under fire in Katlehong on Wednesday, prompting an appeal on Thursday to warring parties to respect the Red Cross emblem and allow paramedics to do their work.

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) said the ambulance was hit by five bullets, one narrowly missing the driver.

Paramedics from the South African Red Cross Society (SARCS) and ICRC were twice caught in cross-fire. They were forced to retreat and dive for cover while attempting to evacuate people wounded in township violence, an ICRC statement said.

ICRC South African head Vincent Nicod said Katlehong was one of the most violent areas yet encountered by Red Cross staff in South Africa.

"We are appealing to all involved to respect the Red Cross and allow assistance to victims of violence to go on

unhindered. Even in times of war, the rules of the International Humanitarian Law, which offer protection to the wounded, must be observed."

Mr Nicod said the Katlehong incident came as a shock as the Red Cross had been widely accepted by all South African communities.

The ICRC and SARCS have been working in Reef townships since 1990.

Military Vehicles To Move In

*MB0508122193 Johannesburg Radio South Africa
Network in English 1100 GMT 5 Aug 93*

[Text] Army Headquarters has announced that mechanized infantry and armored car elements will move into the Witwatersrand today and in the next few days to assist the police in stabilizing the area. This move comes in the wake of the recent wave of violence on the East Rand and is being done on government instructions. The elements deployed from the Army Battle School at Lahatla and Bloemfontein are equipped with Ratel vehicles and Rooikat armored cars. The Army said in a statement in Pretoria that it wished to emphasize that these elements were under the command of their own officers and the general officer commanding the Witwatersrand command and would be deployed in areas decided on by the police and the Army.

IFP's Buthelezi Says U.S. 'Interfering' in Affairs

*MB0408182093 Johannesburg SABA in English 1703
GMT 4 Aug 93*

[Text] Durban Aug 4 SABA—Inkatha President Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Wednesday warned of civil war should the draft constitution be adopted and slammed the United States for interfering in South Africa's domestic affairs. Mr Buthelezi said the U.S. would be held accountable should civil war break out as a result of the African National Congress [ANC] getting its way at the negotiation table.

The Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] leader accused the U.S. Government of wanting a political settlement at any price and warned that this could "thrust this country into civil war". Mr Buthelezi was addressing American Consul-General Bismarck Myrick at a function in Ulundi marking the end of his term of office in Durban.

"The proposals at the World Trade Centre that (the U.S.) wants me to accept are proposals that will thrust this country into civil war," said the IFP president. "I get the impression that the U.S. is actually backing a (ANC President Nelson) Mandela victory because the U.S. wants a settlement tomorrow, and it is a case of wanting any settlement at any price."

On the future constitution, Mr Buthelezi said bluntly: "There shall not be a unitary state. There shall not be a constituent assembly to write a new constitution".

Regional powers, boundaries and structures would be finalised before elections, he demanded. The IFP would not allow an election campaign on who would write the country's constitution.

Mr Buthelezi said the country's negotiators had failed dismally in their draft constitution. He reiterated that the IFP was not opposed to the setting of an election date, but this had to be done after there was agreement on South Africa's future form of state.

He said instructions made to the technical committee tasked with drafting the constitution "in no way reflected the gains and agreements made in bilateral discussions with the South African government".

On the issue of sufficient consensus, Mr Buthelezi said this could not be achieved at multiparty negotiations without agreement by the IFP or other important parties. Instead, the ANC was pressing ahead without Inkatha and not abiding by the principle of give and take.

The ANC and government had connived in an attempt to reach settlement that would suit them and had bulldozed their decisions through and had hijacked the negotiation process.

By adopting a constituent assembly option, South Africa was throwing away its chances of securing a federal system. It was still not clear how constitutional principles on regionalism would entrench a federal state, said Mr Buthelezi. "For us in the IFP the draft constitution cannot be improved upon. It is incorrigible."

Multiparty Talks Reaffirm 'Sufficient Consensus' Concept

*MB0408123193 Johannesburg SABA in English 1216
GMT 4 Aug 93*

[By political correspondent Pierre Claassen]

[Text] Johannesburg Aug 4 SABA—The Multiparty Negotiation Council on Wednesday reaffirmed the decision-making concept of sufficient consensus and has adopted a set of guidelines for its future application. The Council was presented a report by a special ad hoc committee appointed to investigate the concept after it triggered disputes which subsequently gave rise to legal actions challenging key decisions.

The report found there was no need to change the Council's standing rules which provide for decisions being made by sufficient consensus. Listing complaints against its application, the ad hoc committee recommended that a flexible procedure be formulated to guide chairmen in coming to a decision.

Stressing the need for a constructive negotiating spirit among parties and noting the concerns of parties for the avoidance of filibustering and majoritarianism, the committee recommended procedural guidelines to manage Council meetings, and to create mechanisms for consensus and possible time-frames.

The proposals focus on:

- following standing rules proposals for adjournments for informal discussion, setting up technical committees and allowing time for participants to consult their principals;
- an ad hoc committee charged with responsibility to bridge differences;
- bilateral talks under the guidance of the planning committee, including one or more members of a relevant technical committee; and
- similarly structures for multilateral discussions.

The proposals were welcomed by all parties which said they were an improvement which would lead to consistency in decisions at the Council.

Joe Slovo (South African Communist Party) was the first to react and said that in the spirit of offering an olive branch (to Inkatha Freedom Party and Conservative Party absentees) he believed the whole process should be determined by the concept of inclusivity. "We should ignore what is happening elsewhere, in other forums and in the courts," he said.

Two principals should inform the Council's approach:

- no single party, no matter how large or small, should block a decision or immobilise the process; and
- no party, however powerful, should act in a way that rode roughshod over parties holding different views, either individually or collectively.

"In practice this means we shall try our damndest in our discussions to achieve consensus," he said.

ANC, IFP Hold 'Constructive' Meeting on Negotiations

MB0408175893 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 1600 GMT 4 Aug 93

[Text] The IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party]-KwaZulu delegation could soon be back at the negotiating table following a bilateral meeting with the ANC [African National Congress] in Kempton Park this afternoon. The two delegations, led by ANC Secretary General Cyril Ramaphosa and senior IFP member Joe Matthews, had what they termed a very constructive meeting, in which clarification on each other's positions was reached.

[Begin recording] [South African Broadcasting Corporation Correspondent Ronel van Zyl] Today's meeting between the IFP and ANC followed a series of continuing bilaterals between the IFP-KwaZulu delegation and various other parties in an effort to bring them back to the negotiation table. Mr. Matthews was optimistic, but would not commit himself to a specific date for the IFP's return.

[Matthews] We are having such wonderful bilateral discussions, so much progress is being made, that perhaps if we register this kind of progress it may be possible sooner or later to return to the multiparty negotiating forum.

[Van Zyl] The two delegations agreed to establish two subcommittees to look into constitutional affairs and violence. A follow-up meeting is expected next week. [end recording]

Strike by Cape Town Municipal Workers Ends

MB0408160193 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1400 GMT 4 Aug 93:

[Text] The strike by thousands of municipal workers in Cape Town is over. A joint statement by the Cape Town City Council and the chairman of the South African Municipal Workers' Union, (Sale Mani), said an agreement had been reached to end the strike. In terms of the agreement, the city's 12,000 municipal workers were to return to work this afternoon. The Council gave the assurance that some of the services which were disrupted as a result of the strike would return to normal today.

Earlier a few thousand workers staged a march to the offices of the Cape Municipal Employers' Organization in Bellville and demanded the withdrawal of an ultimatum issued by the municipalities that workers who did not return to work by tomorrow would be laid off.

South African Press Review for 5 Aug

MB0508131893

[Editorial Report]

THE CITIZEN

Paper Opposes International Peacekeeping Force—Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 3 August in its page 6 editorial opposes an international peacekeeping force saying, the "experience of the UN intervention in Somalia (where the brutal attacks by the UN forces upset Archbishop Tutu), or Yugoslavia (where the slaughter and ethnic cleansing have gone on for months despite the UN presence) is enough reason to reject international intervention." THE CITIZEN believes the answer to the violence is: between the African National Congress (ANC) and Inkatha; "to work with the police to end the violence"; for the ANC "to lay down your arms and let Inkatha lay down its arms at the same time"; and finally "for the government to govern the country with determination until the new South Africa dawns."

THE STAR

Warning Against Rushing Regional Boundaries Proposals—Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 5 August in a page 16 editorial commends the demarcation commission "for drawing up a proposal, in the short time allocated, which has largely succeeded in pulling together the many submissions made to it." "As we move towards finality on borders, everything possible should be done, as the State President has suggested, to let ordinary people have their say. It is, after all, they, and not the politicians, who will have to live with the consequences of this partition. Care should also be taken that the new boundaries do not sow the seeds of future inter-regional strife, even civil war."

Regarding the economic viability of the proposed regions, the South African Chamber of Business "regrets the commission did not offer alternative regional scenarios to assist the comparison of relative costs and benefits." Ultimately a new settlement of regional boundaries "is likely to be a marriage between political expediency and economic viability. But before we get to that stage, we would urge all parties to keep an open mind, and to continue the debate on a matter that should not be rushed through the negotiation chamber."

BUSINESS DAY

Call to Delay Elections—"Partial solutions, which could easily cause the implosion of a future South Africa, are being thrust upon us in the rush to meet the April 27 election deadline," points out a page 8 editorial in Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 5 August. The haste is due to "a not altogether irrational perception that an election is an essential part of the recipe to end the violence. This is a real consideration. But it cannot be the only one. If haste overrides all other considerations, the longer-term consequences could be more deadly and difficult to deal with than the present violence." "An unsatisfactory resolution of the regional powers question is a recipe for civil war; sloppy finalisation of regional boundaries could hamstring regional economies and create eternal border disputes; and a simplistic property rights clause in a Bill of Rights will destroy confidence—either of property owners or of the dispossessed." "However heretical it may seem, it may be necessary to delay the election by a few months."

CAPE TIMES

"Illusion" To Expect International Help—"The renewed slaughter on the East Rand, following the St James Church massacre a little more than a week ago, and earlier massacres at Boipatong, Sebokeng and elsewhere in the PWV [Pretoria - Witwatersrand - Vereeniging] and Natal, leave little doubt that there are dark forces at work to wreck the chances of a constitutional settlement," begins a page 8 editorial in Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 3 August. Furthermore, "this country is no longer able to maintain law and order." Therefore, Archbishop Desmond Tutu has called for an international peacekeeping force. But "it is unlikely that the international community will be disposed to get involved in a low-intensity civil war on South African soil, beyond offering the services of their best investigators and forensic experts. As the United States Ambassador, Mr Princeton Lyman, said recently, it is a dangerous illusion to expect the international community to step in to save South Africa from itself."

* Evolution of ANC Economic Policy Analyzed

93AF0634B Johannesburg FINANCIAL MAIL in English 28 May 93 pp 23-24

[Text] Evolution of the ANC's [African National Congress] economic policies since January 1990 has removed much of the sting from their overtly socialist starting point. They are now more realistic, pragmatic and sensitive to world

trends. It has certainly taken the senior leadership great political courage to have gone as far as it has, leavening a destructive inheritance of collectivism and Marxist commitment.

But whether the ANC can be considered to have jettisoned socialism remains an enigma. For much of what even senior spokesmen say today is characterised by an undertone that remains essentially redistributionist.

Continual emphasis on anti-trust laws to fracture large business groupings, as well as insistence on affirmative action, could be seen as either the outcome of compromise or covert despoilment. Interpretation no doubt depends on how one views the integrity of the ANC's commitment to prosperity. But investors will undoubtedly assume the worst: that is in the nature of risk assessment.

Until this perception has been adequately dispelled, it is futile for the ANC to call for new foreign investment—and Trevor Manuel, head of the ANC's department of economic planning, stressed the importance of foreign investment to the FM this week.

There are three areas where emotive and insufficiently analysed redistributive policies are still propounded. Manuel is their chief advocate but there can be little doubt the views enjoy broad leadership support.

They are the ownership of so many corporate assets by the big four groups—Anglo American, Rembrandt, Old Mutual and Sanlam; the corporate bias in bank lending towards large successful businesses; and the so-called 800 white men who dominate executive ranks (though Manuel, for one, denies he has ever used this term).

The most recent official statement of ANC economic policy is in a speech by secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, to the Blueprint for Prosperity Conference in Johannesburg in October 1992. He pointed to a structural crisis resulting from decades of ideologically misguided policies.

His antidote was deconcentration of the private sector, on the assumption that concentration has not been conducive to a prosperous economy. This fails to take into account many other factors inhibiting economic growth, such as financial sanctions, disinvestment, depression and inward industrialisation. But he did concede that large enterprises are not in themselves bad news; nor are large corporations, as such, synonymous with monopolies.

The ANC's Policy Guidelines for a Democratic S.A., adopted in May 1992, says that the concentration of economic power in the hands of a few conglomerates has been detrimental to balanced economic development. The ANC would introduce anti-monopoly legislation (as referred to by Ramaphosa) to curb continued domination of the economy by a minority within the white minority and promote greater efficiency in the private sector.

The ANC would also welcome foreign investment, by establishing a climate of political stability, economic

growth and transparent, consistent economic policies. Foreign investors would enjoy the same treatment as domestic investors. Who could disagree with this motherhood-and-apple pie approach?

More recently, Manuel said—in a speech to the Annual Conference of Retirement Funds this month—that the aim will be the eventual repeal of exchange controls. Foreign investors should operate under a transparent code, allowing them to repatriate earnings and capital freely. Again, business can only support this.

Manuel has said that the long-standing Malaysian programme to advance indigenous people in an economy initially dominated by the 40 percent Chinese minority is a model S.A. could follow, though not the only model, and he stresses there is no intention to import wholesale any foreign structures unless they're appropriate to our needs.

Certainly there are aspects of Malaysia we could emulate. But it must be remembered, as Anglo American economist Ian Emsley points out, that one factor enabling this programme—a mosaic of types of affirmative action—to work in the Seventies and early Eighties was the discovery of large oil and gas fields. The economy was further buoyed by strong commodity prices.

Another point the ANC should not overlook is the much smaller white community in S.A. relative to the groups to be uplifted—not much more than 15 percent of the total population. For many whites, especially from the business and professional communities, emigration would be far easier than for Malaysia's Chinese.

Manuel described a nine-point plan to include the restructuring of banking “to end discrimination in lending against blacks, women and the informal sector” and de-monopolise the private sector.

He claims that 84.6 percent of shares on the JSE [Johannesburg Stock Exchange] are owned by six conglomerates; the stock market has become inefficient from a national viewpoint, simply channelling funds to the conglomerates.

That reasoning, of course, is in error. The stock market channels funds to the most efficient economic units, which are the only ones investing now. In present economic circumstances, a market that channelled funds into small, untested, uncertain businesses could indeed be accused of failure.

The ANC proposes to broaden control and ownership of business, to create new stakeholders. Manuel welcomes Gencor's unbundling and Sanlam's move to sell shares in Metlife to blacks.

Emphasising the ANC's strong anti-trust policy, Manuel points to the building industry as one where the supply of materials is monopolistic, which pushes up prices. He claims that foreign investors say the control by monopolies of various sectors inhibits the inflow of funds.

But does he consider that foreign investors with that view could be motivated by a desire to buy S.A. assets at a fire-sale price prompted by a government enforcing anti-trust legislation?

The ANC, says Manuel, does not want to clash with business on breaking up the conglomerates but would like to see business—through interaction with political parties and labour—initiate the process of increasing competitiveness.

However, at an economic policy seminar in April 1993, ANC economist Tito Mboweni conceded that big companies are needed to conquer world markets, big companies “which would not necessarily constitute conglomerates.”

In London and Bonn this month, ANC president Nelson Mandela urged U.K. businessmen to invest in S.A. as the need was becoming crucial. He said the ANC would relinquish its opposition to foreign investment as soon as a date for nonracial elections is set. Mandela also said recently that the ANC is not Marxist. He expects its alliance with the S.A. Communist Party (SACP) to end after multiracial elections.

Mandela also said he would appoint a commission of nonaligned experts to review the unacceptable control of the JSE by four conglomerates. His view is that there can be no free market in shares if 75 percent of the total is owned by the four.

Where he errs is in believing that the size of a market dictates its efficiency. That is not so. It is the knowledge of those participating in the market that is the critical efficiency factor.

In analysing this welter of unresolved and often contradictory policy statements, we have to acknowledge the context of a burning and reasonable sense of injustice and deprivation—both relative and absolute. Historical factors pre-dating 1948—indeed, S.A.'s entire history since 1652—reinforced blacks' subordinate position, economically and politically. This was aggravated by the social engineering that followed the Nationalists' accession to power.

In this context, the close association between the ANC and the SACP is hardly surprising. As Mandela has pointed out, during the years of struggle, the ANC got consistent help from the old Soviet Union and the SACP.

From another perspective, it is just as inevitable that S.A. business should view a party with these antecedents with suspicion. Mistaken views of stock market failure, and what appear to be a confusion of size with monopoly, suggest that behind much of the prevalent ANC thinking remains a feeling that all white property was acquired by theft and is therefore fair game. So deconglomeration, interpreted in terms of a plausible hidden agenda, could be intended as a partial and covert form of expropriation.

A hypothetical example might make this clear. Suppose a future ANC-dominated government intimidated or coerced Anglo American into divesting its shareholding in First National Bank (acquired, be it noted, only because Barclays U.K. divested in response to the ANC-approved sanctions campaign).

Who could or would be the purchasers of FNB? If a large life office took over, the ANC would regard this as just one conglomerate replacing another.

We suspect they want a process which includes the acquisition of divested holdings, at least in part, by blacks financed through soft loans, possibly by banks lending under compulsion, possibly by government through the IDC [Industrial Development Corporation] or from general funds, or even by Anglo American itself.

Another of Manuel's objectives is to redirect bank lending away from its present business focus to remedy black exclusion from business. This has been tried and has failed in many countries within sub-Saharan Africa; nowhere did it achieve its goals.

The truth is that banks' lending rests on careful risk assessment. Would-be borrowers who are now excluded are in that position because they do not meet risk criteria. The appropriate medium for assisting black small business is the type of body exemplified by the Small Business Development Corp (SBDC), which operates with a different type of capital and less stringent risk-taking criteria. If—as Manuel claims—the SBDC is not doing enough to finance black business, rather extend its mandate.

The four groups "dominating" the JSE, collectively and individually, represent the powerhouse of the economy. They have its main concentration of high technology, with substantial blocks of capital available to create new large-scale industrial and mining projects. Such projects must be able to compete in the world economy on which S.A. is critically dependent, for foreign trade provides 60 percent of our GDP.

Where genuine monopolies and cartels exist (mainly as a result of licensing by government), they should be brought before the Competition Board.

The last leg of what appears to be ANC policy is embedded in the "800 white males" phrase. Remedying this state of affairs at short notice would require the appointment of supernumerary black board members, or government nominees, who would impose a view on many aspects of conducting business, from wage scales to the award of contracts. This would detract from efficiency and growth objectives. Or, if the phrase is as apocryphal as Manuel claims, it needs to be explicitly disclaimed.

If all these ANC goals were imposed on the large corporate sector at short notice, they would amount to a siege. Far from encouraging an inflow of foreign investment, they would run the risk of accelerating the covert flight of local capital and skills.

The more sophisticated ANC leaders know the value of constructive relationships with business. But they have the painful task of converting less analytical colleagues, let alone the rank and file.

There would be one advantage of the ANC being seen to be reasonable: the return of flight capital. This occurred in profusion when Mexico and Argentina switched to free market policies.

The choice for the ANC leadership, in the words of Anglo American's Michael O'Dowd is: "Does it primarily want

to hurt the rich—or help the poor?" If the latter, business will be a steadfast ally. After all, it too suffered enormously from the Nationalists' apartheid-induced structural inefficiencies and excessive controls.

The ANC—Manuel in particular—is unhappy with the FM's scepticism of its new economic approach, calling us biased. While we have aired our misgivings, we remain happy to be proven wrong. If the ANC's policy revisions continue at the speed of the past few years, that could be a distinct possibility.

* Oil Refinery Upgrading Projects Progress

* Total Costs

93AF0620A Johannesburg *ENGINEERING NEWS in English* 7 May 93 pp 19, 24

[Article by Greg Osborn; quotation marks as published]

[Text] South African oil refinery projects totalling nearly R2-billion are set to come on stream towards the end of this year and in early 1994.

This figure excludes the Mossas project which swung into full operation at the beginning of 1993.

Those oil refineries involved in large capital expenditure include the Caltex-owned Milnerton refinery in Cape Town, the Shell/BP Sapref refinery in Durban, the Sasol/Total upgrade of Natref in Sasolburg and the Engen revamp of the former Mobil refinery Genref.

Capacity Increase

Caltex has invested R280-million in the upgrading of its refinery with the aim of increasing capacity by 70 percent, production volume by 76 percent and white oil yield by three percent. This has increased its capacity from 50,000 to 90,000 b/d. (see page 21)

The plant underwent a major turnaround and inspection (T&I) between February and March this year.

This was the plant's first T&I since 1990 and involved the upgrading of the catalytic reformer and modifications to the fluid catalytic converter.

Shell and BP will see their R450-million 'Fox' investment come on stream in September. This will increase capacity from 200,000 to 260,000 b/d. (see pages 38 and 39)

At present some 1,000 workers are on site and the final tie-ins are planned during a five week shutdown beginning in August.

The largest contract underway is the R35-million mechanical and piping contract being undertaken by CBI(SA).

Gencor's energy division, Engen approved the R800-million phase two development of the Genref refinery in November 1992. This will increase capacity from 65,000 to 130,000 b/d. (see pages 42 and 43)

The company has adopted a cautious expansion project that will ensure the plant meets the needs of the future market.

The upgrade includes a new central control building, a sulphur recovery complex and a 'bottoms up' programme.

The Engen board is spending R213-million of the budget on reducing the plant's impact on the environment.

The only outstanding operation from the R700-million phase one Genref expansion is the water effluent plant, which will be completed in August.

Shutdowns Planned

Sasol and Total's R370-million programme for the Natref refinery will be operational by the end of the year. This will raise capacity to 82,000 b/d from 75,500. (see pages 40 and 41)

Shutdowns are planned for September and October.

The revamped units will be converted during these shutdowns.

A possible R120-million isomerisation unit for the Natref plant awaits board approval sometime this year.

Such a plant would increase unleaded fuel production for 1995.

All units at the Moss gas site in Mossel Bay were commissioned and fully operational at the beginning of 1993.

Completed in June of 1992, the company reports an unaudited operating profit of some R24-million at the end of March 1993.

The first consignment of alcohol was exported to Brazil in March, and diesel and kerosene production commenced January 2, 1993.

Other activities in the refinery business include an upgrade of Engen's Chemico re-refinery in Chamdor. (see pages 22 and 23)

The R10-million upgrade in 1992 has doubled the plants grease capacity, however, BP is set to challenge Engen's virtual monopoly of the re-refining business with the announcement by BP commercial brand manager Anthony Kemp that it is to break into this market.

According to an article in BUSINESS DAY, Engen has plans to import crude oil directly from oil-producing countries.

Deregulated Environment

This move would prepare the group to operate in a deregulated environment which is currently controlled by the state procurement agency, SFF Association.

This organisation was established in the early 1980s to source oil for South African refineries following the oil embargoes.

Changing political perceptions of South Africa over the last 18 months have relaxed procurement structures on crude oil.

Before Engen's move to import crude oil goes ahead however a number of issues would have to be addressed, such as the reconciliation of deregulation with South Africa's protected synfuel producers, Sasol and Moss gas.

On the exploration front Soekor is involved in three projects off the South African coast.

These are the Bredasdorp basin, south-east of Cape Town and west-south-west of Port Elizabeth, the Orange basin off the west of South Africa and extending north into Namibia; and the Algoa and Gamtoos basins on the south-eastern margins of South Africa.

Actively Exploring

According to a paper presented by Soekor assistant head of exploration Paul Burden, the company is actively exploring for hydrocarbons in the Bredasdorp basin.

One hundred and thirty-five wells had been drilled in this basin by August 1992.

A number of fields have been discovered, with oil flow rates as high as 8,500 st-tk b/d.

Soekor has an exploration partner in Engen and is looking for more partners to explore similar fields. (see pages 27 and 31)

"The Orange basin comprises an area of some 130,000 km², with known hydrocarbon accumulations and the potential for giant fields," says Soekor's west coast team exploration head Andre Muntingh.

Muntingh adds that comprehensive seismic coverage and a recent deep water seismic survey indicate exciting opportunities in the form of shallow and deep water plays.

Soekor's integrated approach to oil exploration, the recent discovery of good quality source rocks, numerous gas and oil shows, and a large amount of untested plays have created renewed interest in the Orange basin.

Opportunities for continued exploration have prompted Soekor to extend seismic coverage of the Orange basin.

Soekor principal geologist Jean Malan reports that the Algoa and Gamtoos basins are complex rift-type basins that are present both onshore and offshore.

In terms of hydrocarbons, 22 boreholes onshore and 19 offshore have been drilled in the Algoa and Gamtoos basins which together total 11,000 km² in area.

No commercial finds of oil or gas have been achieved despite encouraging shows.

Offshore drilling for hydrocarbons has been sufficiently encouraging to continue exploration.

Malan concludes that both basins are semi-explored and contain known reservoir units, several petroleum charge systems, regional topseals and numerous traps.

The good temporal relationship between these various factors has resulted in there being a good potential for undiscovered petroleum accumulations.

* Caltex Refinery

93AF0620B Johannesburg *ENGINEERING NEWS* in English 7 May 93 p 21

[Text] The R280-million upgrading of the Caltex refinery in Milnerton, is proceeding according to plan.

The upgrading programme demonstrates the confidence of Caltex in the future of South Africa and its oil industry.

In August 1992 the catalytic polymerisation plant started up ahead of schedule and under the original budget.

The commitment of both the project management and the project team contributed significantly to this achievement.

The unit produces high value, high octane gasoline blend-stock from material that would otherwise be routed to liquid petroleum gas (LPG).

The process is licensed by UOP and the detailed engineering design and procurement was handled by BCG Engineering Contractors.

Construction was undertaken by CBI Constructors S.A.

The commissioning of this plant builds on the successes of the installation of the computerised distributed control system (DCS) and the commissioning of the mothballed crude vacuum distillation units.

The commissioning of the crude and vacuum units in March 1992 enabled the refinery to process more crude during 1992 than in recent years.

The effective crude capacity is expected to increase during 1993 and later years following the demothballing of the second fluid catalytic cracker unit (FCCU).

The recommissioning of the second FCCU is proceeding according to plan and is scheduled to be on line in the second quarter of this year. The unit will be started up with a distributed control system.

In February/March 1993 the refinery undertook a major refinery turnaround and inspection (T&I); the first since 1990.

During this period 4,800 individual jobs were completed; the peak staff on site was 2,500.

The T&I was completed on schedule and within budget.

During the T&I all contractors were inducted on site into the safety practices and expectations in place at the refinery.

During the shutdown the upgrade of the refinery's catalytic reformer was completed.

The detailed design work for this project was handled by Fluor Engineers South Africa.

The commissioning of the project went well and the initial indications are that the plant is performing to design.

Also during the shutdown, modifications to the operating FCCU were made to improve its performance.

The design of this project was handled within the Caltex system.

Attention is being focused on additional plant and modifications to meet the legislated requirement for unleaded petrol in 1995.

This project is proceeding according to plan.

Some R80-million of the R280-million is dedicated to the conversion to the DCS control; R44-million is being pumped into increasing the crude capacity and R60-million to the catalytic polymerisation unit.

The mothballed FCCU will cost R44-million, while a further R40-million has been spent on smaller projects.

The overall impact of the two-year project will be to increase crude throughput capacity by 70 percent, production volume by 76 percent and balanced white oil yield by 3 percent.

The revamp aims to add the highest value possible to the crude refined in the complex.

* Sapref Project

93AF0620C Johannesburg *ENGINEERING NEWS* in English 7 May 93 pp 38-39

[Text] The R450-million Sapref refinery upgrade—the Fox project—is on track for its September start up.

The progress for the total project stands at 90 percent complete and when finished will boost crude distilling capacity by 30 percent.

"As expected the project has reached its peak with 1,000 workers on site," says project manager Rund van Deursen.

Contractors on site include CBI(SA) which is attending to the mechanical and piping contract worth an estimated R35-million.

The planned completion of this contract is August 1993.

Groenewald is executing the R10-million electrical and instrumentation installation, Setpoint Analytics is undertaking the analyser installation, while the emergency shutdown systems are being installed by Staro.

Martech is in charge of the integrated control systems contract and the insulation and painting contract has been awarded to Thermal Insulation.

SGB is responsible for the supply and erection of scaffolding.

The piling contract was executed by Esor and the contract for civil work was carried out by Goldstein Coastal (Natal).

The contract amounted to some R14-million and has been completed.

The contract for plant buildings was carried out by Murray & Roberts (Natal).

No Contracts Outstanding

"There are no major contracts outstanding, and more than 70 percent of the materials and equipment was sourced locally," says Sapref MD Peter Fransen.

Worth an estimated R40-million, the remaining 30 percent of material and equipment was imported from France and Holland.

Sapref is one of the largest and most technologically advanced refineries in southern Africa, supplying a significant part of South Africa's petroleum requirements.

Most of South Africa's crude oil is pumped from oil tankers into storage tanks via the single buoy mooring situated 1.9 km offshore from Reunion.

This buoy is owned by a consortium of oil companies operating in South Africa but is managed and operated by Sapref.

At the refinery the crude oil is processed into its various constituent products and these are transported by pipeline to the Island View installation for distribution to the marketing outlets by pipeline, rail, road and sea.

Safety during construction of the Fox project is enhanced and supported by comprehensive training programmes on site and incentive schemes between the principal and the contractors.

Project management for the operation is being carried out by Sapref, supported by Process Industry Engineering (PIE) which comprises a joint venture between Badger BV of the Hague and local firm EMS.

"The Sapref expansion is designed to meet the growing motor gasoline (Mogas) demand and to consolidate its position as the largest and most efficient refinery in South Africa," explains Van Deursen.

Sapref is a complex refinery which sets it apart from simple refineries which employ only hydro-skimming facilities.

Installation Facilities

The Shell/BP installation has distillation, catalytic cracking, thermal cracking, octane upgrading, reforming and hydro-treating facilities.

The project will improve the energy efficiency of the refinery as a whole, reduce the environmental impact and is considered as a non-regret stepping stone for future (conversion) developments.

Due for commissioning in the fourth quarter of this year, the upgrade will reduce the need to import Mogas.

The initial surplus automotive gas oil, which could be treated to meet the European sulphur specification and

South Africa's future environmental demands, could be exported to earn foreign currency.

A unique feature of the design is the high degree of heat integration between the main process units.

Air cooling is kept to the absolute minimum.

All the new process heaters are designed for a single fuel, namely low sulphur refinery gas.

The burners are state-of-the-art with low NOx and SOx appliances.

The wastewater treatment facilities meet the specifications laid down by government.

The final tie-ins between the new Fox facilities and the existing refinery units will be made during a five-week shutdown in August this year.

After this the integrated units will be started up for commercial production.

*** Natref Upgrading**

93AF0620D Johannesburg *ENGINEERING NEWS in English* 7 May 93 pp 40-41

[Text] The R370-million upgrading of Sasol and Total's Natref refinery in Sasolburg will be put into operation towards the end of this year.

"Natref's management team has split the plant's shutdown period into two distinct phases," says expansion project manager Ajax Marcandonatos.

"The first stage will be the shutdown of 70 percent of the refinery in August and will involve the necessary tie-ins to bring the new units on line," he explains.

The plant's hydrocracker will be exempt from this closure, but will undergo its tie-in on completion of the first stage of the shutdown.

"The hydrocracker will shut down sometime in October, when it will be converted from the black oil conversion unit to the new reduced crude desulphurisation unit (RCD)," Marcandonatos adds.

At present, 85 percent of the equipment has been erected in 760,000 man hours without lost time for injury.

The renovations will enable the refinery to process a much cheaper and heavier crude oil slate.

This will substantially increase the refining margin and increase the profit contribution of crude oil refining by more than 25 percent.

An impressive addition to the refinery is the 445t reduced crude desulphurisation (RCD) unit, which was manufactured in Japan by Japan Steel Works.

The unit will enable the refinery to process the much cheaper and heavier crude slate.

The R11.5-million reactor is the single most expensive item procured by managing contractor Badger Africa on behalf of Natref/Sastech.

The 23m long steel drum with a 3.8m diameter has a wall thickness of 205mm, which accounts for the weight of the reactor.

A smaller guard reactor, also commissioned from Japan and weighing 160t, has been installed alongside its big brother.

Through a combination of heat, pressure and added catalysts, the reactor "cracks" the crude slate or black oil.

The resulting mixture can then be further refined, enabling Natref to produce the high percentage of white products like petrol, diesel and jet fuel.

The RCD reactor was placed alongside two operating reactors and in front of the smaller guard reactor which will boost the three larger reactors when necessary.

"The installation of the RCD unit was very intricate due to the fact that it was carried out in a 'live' plant and any excessive movement would have damaged the existing equipment," says Badger Africa project manager Karel Logman.

The whole plant area remained in operation for the duration of the lift, which took just over two hours.

Natref owns no crude oil and markets no products, but refines crude oil on behalf of its shareholders—Sasol and Total, which hold a 36-percent share.

"Apart from the immediate increase in the refining margin, the flexibility to process heavier, cheaper crudes will be a valuable asset when our choice of available crudes increases," says Sasol's MD, Paul Kruger.

The project will give Natref the ability to produce up to 90 percent white products from a barrel of crude compared with the 65 to 70 percent of a conventional crude oil refinery.

Natref will also be able to produce more than 50 percent lead-free petrol.

At present a R120-million isomerisation unit to increase the production of unleaded fuels, is awaiting board approval by senior Sasol management.

The possibility that this project will get the green light is heightened by the fact that a logical step after the revamp is the construction of such a unit.

Unleaded petrol will be manufactured and marketed in South Africa from 1995—and Sasol Oil claims it will be among the pioneers of this pro-environmental fuel initiative.

At the time of the Cabinet's announcement last year that unleaded fuel would be introduced to the country, Sasol Oil was already well advanced with its own lead-substitution fuel research and development programme.

Complementing Sasol Oil's fuel reformulation initiative, is the multi-million renovation and expansion of Sasol's Natref oil refinery which will produce unleaded petrol as from 1995.

According to Sasol Oil MD, Danie de Villiers, it is technically feasible for Sasol to switch to unleaded fuel production immediately, but only with limited capacity.

Despite a nominal lead content—and contrary to misconception among some environmentalists, Sasol Oil's fuels are reported to be far from environmentally-friendly than often appreciated.

This is because of several major fuel reformulation breakthroughs achieved by Sasol Oil scientists in recent years.

"The Sasol processes used to produce diesel and petrol have major environmental advantages over conventional fuels.

"We have one of the best and most advanced fuel laboratories in the world where fuel formulations are developed and tested," claims De Villiers.

"The first world trend is towards making reformulated or environmentally-friendly fuels by reducing aromatics, olefins and sulphur content, as well as a lower vapour pressure limit, lead omission and the addition of alcohol and other fuel oxygenates," adds De Villiers.

"Sasol's synthol fuel-making process has a major advantage over the traditional crude-oil fuels when measured against reformulated fuel specifications.

Apart from olefin and lead levels, Sasol already conforms to most of the U.S.A.'s reformulated fuel specifications," De Villiers explains.

Sasol Oil's petrol reformulation advances include: the removal of sulphur compounds, thus eliminating sulphur exhaust emissions as well as reducing harmful effects in engines; the reduction of aromatics such as benzene; an effective deposit-control additive package; increased amounts of oxygen-containing alcohols to improve the combustion process, while reducing noxious carbon monoxide and hydrocarbons in exhaust gases and reduced vapour pressure for lower evaporative emissions during vehicle refilling.

"In terms of sulphur and aromatics content, diesel produced from coal by Sasol more than complies with America's proposed diesel formulation for 1995.

"All South African refineries, including Sasol's Natref facilities, are octane-limited which means additional refining units will have to be installed if the maximum lead level is to be reduced farther.

"This is one of the reasons why the Natref facilities are being renovated and expanded," he continues.

Unleaded petrol will cost considerably more to produce than leaded petrol.

The government, however, is planning to levy lower taxes on unleaded petrol than on leaded petrol to promote the use of the former.

"On a positive note, Sasol has continuous research programmes and technology feasibility studies as a part of a concerted quest to establish viable, alternative unleaded formulations," concludes De Villiers.

* Genref Expansion

93AF0620E Johannesburg *ENGINEERING NEWS in English* 7 May 93 pp 42-43

[Article by Greg Osborn]

[Text] Early estimates indicate that R2-billion will be spent on phase two of the Genref expansion project which has now been split into four phases.

The rationale behind splitting up phase two is that it builds flexibility into the refinery allowing it a number of options as to processing and leaves room for adaptations if there are unexpected fluctuations in the future market.

"Genref's customer is in the market place, and we want a refinery expansion that will meet the market growth.

"We do not want to launch into a massive upgrading project that in two years time will be ill-suited to the market place, hence the restructuring of phase two," says Genref's engineering manager of projects Peter Ayers.

The R800 million first stage of this operation was approved in November of last year by the Engen board and includes the construction of a centralised control room, a sulphur recovery unit (SRC), a "bottoms up programme" and a "light ends operation."

The sulphur recovery complex (SRC) is made up of three plants all motivated for environmental reasons.

The first stage of the plant is the DEA [expansion not given] regeneration unit. This scrubs the sulphur gases out of the refinery hydrocarbon gas streams.

Further treatment occurs in the second plant or the Claus unit.

A new Claus sulphur unit is to be constructed bringing the total number of Claus units at Genref to three.

The licence for the process was obtained from Comprimo in the Hague.

The plant can extract 70 tons of sulphur a day.

The state-of-the-art Claus plant will be equipped with an additional catalytic reactor, this will increase the efficiency of the plant by an additional one per cent.

A sour water stripper or distillation tower completes the complex.

The stripper improves the quality of the effluent.

The off gases from the water stripper are also processed in the Claus plant.

"The SRC is thus an integrated complex of three plants which are focused on improving Genref's treatment of sulphur compounds in the gas streams of the refinery," explains refinery director Peter Dent.

The sulphur extracted in this way is turned into liquid sulphur and then sold.

The total value of the environmental project amounts to R213-million of the R800-million to be spent in this first stage of phase two.

Engineering and design specification, engineering and procurement, and construction management for the SRC has been awarded to Fluor Engineering South Africa (FESA).

Contractors on site working on the SRC project include Grinaker, which was awarded the R6-million civils contract, and Fraser and Chalmers, which was awarded the R13-million mechanical and piping contract.

The balance of the contracts are not on tender and will be awarded from now until June.

The steel work contract for the SRC was awarded to Steinmuller which has started working on this R3-million contract.

Contracts for off-site utilities work will be awarded towards the end of this year.

The second stage of the R800-million development is the construction of a centralised control building (CCB).

Occupation and use of the Genref CCB should take place in December 1993.

Companies involved in the construction of the CCB include Tyforce, Genref CSMS (instrumentation and control specialist) and AJ Smith.

The plant will continue to use the TDC 3000.

This updated version has seen some seven years of service with the refinery.

Initially the plant had seven control rooms, which have now been reduced to four.

The single unit is the next step and it has the advantage of connecting all the operations and people on the plant.

Honeywell Martech was awarded a R5-million contract for the installations of the TDC 3000 control system.

A variety of pressure vessel and heat exchanger contracts were awarded to Durban firms and companies on the reef, these include Elgin, DD Thermal and Furnace KTI SA.

The vacuum tower was ordered from Felguerra in Spain and CBI has undertaken the tank work.

A significant part of the budget will be allocated towards a "bottoms up project" and a "light ends operation."

The project manager for the balance of the 'bottoms up project' is a task force comprising Genref and Badger Africa.

Fluor will undertake the engineering contract and work will be completed by March 1, 1995.

Much of the work will be done in-house by the Genref process design engineering team.

It includes the expansion of the asphalt plant which should be complete by February 1994.

The managing contractual side of the "light ends operation" of the "bottoms up project" will also be done by the Badger/Genref team.

This contract will also be on-line by March 1995.

Work on site at present includes the completion of the water effluent plant from the R700-million phase one.

Work on phase one included the upgrading of the crude distillation unit, the fluid cracker, the catalytic reformer, the catalytic hydro desulphurisation unit and the saturated gas plant.

The process part of phase one is complete and it is operating on target.

There were some delays in getting the operation up and running but this complicated expansion is now running at capacity.

The managing contractor for the effluent water plant in Bosch and Associates.

Some of the specialist equipment for plant is being supplied by Drizit, while the pump supplier is Cemo of Johannesburg.

Once treated in this water plant, Genref will pay the Durban municipality to remove its effluent.

The municipality then reprocesses this water, which will eventually be sold to Mondi for use on its plant.

The construction of the water effluent plant is aimed at reducing the risk of contaminants reaching outfall streams.

The installation of the water effluent plant and the SRC is aimed at maintaining environmental standards now and in the future.

The water effluent contract needs to be finished before the rainy season in August.

On site there are some 460 people, with the peak in operations due next May when some 1,200 people are expected on site.

* Mining Companies Seeking Expansion Abroad

93AF0634C Johannesburg FINANCIAL MAIL in English 28 May 93 pp 24-26

[Article by Brendan Ryan]

[Text] A great conundrum for S.A. is that it is a country that has lost sympathy with the powerhouse of its economy. It has been built largely on the foundations of a

secure mining and natural resource industry—but this industry holds diminishing attractions for the country's mining houses.

On the face of it, this may not seem a major problem—after all, decisions taken last year will result in nearly R12bn being ploughed into three huge new projects—Alusaf, Columbus and Namakwa Sands. But the truth is that S.A.'s world-renowned mining houses are stepping up their search for new projects outside S.A.'s borders.

The houses have adopted this policy because it is becoming increasingly difficult to find projects in S.A. This means, in turn, that the economic growth S.A. so desperately needs from new mining developments will instead be conferred on West African countries such as Ghana, or any one of a number of nations in South and Central America, as well as along the Pacific Rim.

That's where Gold Fields, Anglo American, JCI and Gencor are increasingly focusing their exploration efforts. Anglovaal, so far, has restricted its exploration work outside S.A. to Namibia—but it is involved in international exploration through offshore associate Anglo Pacific Resources Plc.

Gold Fields appears the closest to announcing a new overseas mine. The house's long-standing policy is to have two new projects under development at any one time. With both Northern Platinum and the Leeudoom extension to Kloof up and running, it is on the point of selecting its next candidates.

Gold Fields executive director Bernard van Rooyen says the most likely choice is the Gamsberg zinc deposit in the northern Cape, but the second project could well be a new gold mine in South America. The implication, of course, is that Gold Fields rates the South American gold project above its Orange Free State Sand River mine, on which exploration and feasibility studies have been completed. That hammers home a number of unpleasant truths.

One of the unpalatable facts is that the chances of discovering another high-grade, shallow gold mine in this country are virtually nonexistent. A sustained, long-term shift upwards in the gold price is needed before the houses will even contemplate spending billions on new deep-level gold mines.

However, new gold projects which are shallow with relatively high grades, and working costs below U.S.\$200/oz, are regularly being found and developed elsewhere. Not unreasonably, S.A.'s mining houses want some of that action.

"It doesn't make sense to spend \$500m on a high-risk, deep-level mine here when you can get better returns from spending \$100m to \$200m on a surface deposit elsewhere," says Anglo group public affairs consultant Michael Spicer.

"Our mission," comments Bernard Smith, Gencor executive director in charge of new business, "is to achieve real growth and, like the other mining groups, we have always

been able to rely on the Witwatersrand series geological formation as a source of enough new projects to meet all our growth requirements. That's no longer the case."

Says Van Rooyen: "Gold mines such as Driefontein and Kloof have the reserves to carry on producing at current levels for another 30 years—but that's short time in the life span of a mining group and we have to find the replacements fairly soon."

Another factor working against S.A. is that it is probably the most carefully explored country in the world. For the past 30 years the mining groups have been largely unable, for political and financial reasons, to go looking elsewhere. Instead they have fine-combed their own backyard. "We've drilled the place silly," comments Ray Cohen, marketing director for Anglo's New Mining Business division.

Says Spicer: "There are no bonanza projects left here, unless somebody stumbles on to an unknown reserve. And the chances of that happening have been greatly reduced by the exploration work carried out. But there is a good chance of making a bonanza strike in South America as well as West and East African countries, because they are so poorly explored. In Zaire we actually know where the deposits are—but it would be crazy to go in there at present."

As an aside, it's worth remembering that in the late Sixties Anglo did indeed attempt a penetration of Zaire—through a copper project called Tenke Fungurume. But it faced endemic instability, totally inadequate infrastructure and not a little bureaucratic bumbling. Anglo took the disagreeable decision to retreat before its losses exceeded the \$100m rumoured at the time.

Proof that the mining houses are scraping the barrel for natural resource investments locally is to be found in the projected rates of return from Alusaf and Columbus.

Generally, businesses are naturally averse to making investments that can be classed as risky. They certainly object strenuously to attempts to coerce them down paths on which they're uncomfortable. There has to be an acceptable profit margin to make a risk worthwhile; the generally accepted hurdle rate of return in S.A. for such projects is 7 percent.

Instead, Alusaf is looking at a 6.5 percent return—and that's estimated on an aluminium price above current levels. Columbus is forecasting a 5.8 percent return. Anglo won't disclose what the expected return is from Namakwa Sands, but its reluctance to show its hand leads analysts to conclude that the estimate is less than handsome.

Apart from the paucity of suitable geological targets, there are other factors encouraging mining groups to move offshore. After the comprehensive demise of communism, many countries are going out of their way to attract capitalist companies. S.A. mining groups are welcomed with open arms because of their recognised expertise.

Our new tax regime of a 40 percent corporate rate of taxation and a 15 percent tax on dividend payouts still compares unfavourably with overall rates of 30 percent in Argentina and 35 percent in Indonesia—two countries now attracting considerable exploration interest.

Then there's often a tax holiday of between five and 10 years offered on new projects. Most important, there is no foreign exchange control in these countries—or if there is, special dispensations can be negotiated for new investments. The enticements to mining investment offered by many countries are considerable. Van Rooyen singles out Venezuela as a prime example. The country has a 25 percent tax rate, immediate 100 percent capital write-off, no withholding tax and no exchange controls.

A further factor is S.A.'s high labour costs compared with the rest of Africa and South America. According to London stockbrokers James Capel, the average monthly unskilled wage in South African industry is \$500 compared with just \$80 in Kenya. It's even lower in countries like Tanzania, Zimbabwe and Zambia. The legislated unskilled minimum wage in Zimbabwe works out to about \$33 a month.

Anglo and associate JCI are now reaping some unpleasant rewards from their policies in the Seventies and Eighties, when they pushed for hefty real wage increases for unskilled and semi-skilled workers without demanding productivity increases.

The consequences are now all too apparent. In gold, S.A. went from being the world's cheapest producing nation to its most expensive; there is a danger of a similar performance in coal.

So where are all the various groups looking? Gold Fields has two surface gold projects in Venezuela and another in Ecuador; Van Rooyen says the group is also considering West Africa, particularly Ghana. Other targets are along the Pacific Rim, including nations such as China and Vietnam. Gold Fields last year announced a development in Zaire but then put it on ice following the political and social collapse of that country.

Gencor, which already operates the Sao Bento gold mine in Brazil, is particularly keen on the Pacific Rim and is exploring in countries like Indonesia.

Soon after Gencor's announcement of its intention to unbundle nonmining assets came the news that it is discussing the possibility of buying Royal Dutch Shell's mining interests, held through wholly owned subsidiary Billiton International.

Understandably, Gencor's saying very little about the project. "It's early days yet," says chairman Brian Gilbertson, "and we've released the news about the negotiations only at the insistence of Shell." Little information is available about unlisted Billiton: the group's net capital employed in 1991 is stated as \$2.1bn and it has operating mines in Australia, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Ghana, Indonesia and S.A. However, Billiton's profitability is linked significantly to the commodity cycles—last year its

net income was a miserable \$12m, eloquent testimony to the severe recession in base metals and minerals.

Of considerable interest to observers is how Gencor will finance a deal of this kind, prohibited as it is from the use of the financial rand. It's possible, of course, that the group may have found a willing overseas partner ready to supply the cash, while Gencor brings to the party its considerable management expertise and technical competence. However, there's considerable scepticism in the marketplace about Gencor's ability to pull off a deal of this kind, apparently without ready access to overseas cash resources, Gilbertson himself says he doesn't rate the chances of success as much better than 50:50.

JCI, according to Nick Segal, group consultant for strategy and public affairs, has a "modest" presence in Ghana and Zambia and is watching developments in a number of other selected African countries. The group has had a general look around South America but Segal says JCI will not be pursuing anything there for the time being.

Anglo is just about everywhere, to the point where its various operations almost overlap. Anglo American Corp of South America (Amsa) operates in Brazil, Chile and Argentina. In Brazil, Amsa associate Mineracao Morro Velho runs mines which produced 12t of gold in 1991 while, in Chile, Amsa's Mantos Blancos mine produces about 78,000t of copper annually.

Anglo's New Mining Business division covers Africa from Johannesburg; Australasia is covered through joint ventures with Normandy/Poseidon—and then, of course, there is Minorco.

As Anglo's principal overseas arm, Minorco is primarily concerned with Europe and the Americas. But the group made an unsuccessful play for a big part in the Australian Olympic Dam project last year.

There remains the tricky issue of how any overseas developments would be financed, particularly given the restrictions placed last year on the use of the finrand. S.A. is in a forex squeeze and the authorities seem unconvinced of the need for the mining groups to expand overseas.

The really important criterion for permission to use the finrand is that such investments must bring immediate benefits to S.A. Unfortunately, that is rarely the case with long-range mining projects.

"We should be free, like international mining groups such as RTZ [Rio Tinto Zinc], to go where the best opportunities are. We have not been able to do this until now because of political and financial constraints and have some catching up to do," says Spicer.

But none of the groups believes that finding money will be a problem, because funds should be forthcoming from multilateral agencies such as the World Bank's International Finance Corporation [IFC], which is keen to promote suitable mining developments in Third-World countries.

According to Segal: "The IFC is typically prepared to provide as much as 60 percent of the cost of a good quality project, through loans and also to help syndicate any equity funding involved.

"They will accept the project itself as the only collateral required on the loans. These are attractive terms for an S.A. company because they do not require guarantees through the finrand system."

Says Spicer: "The IFC and other agencies see the S.A. mining groups as agents for development in the rest of Africa. They are keen for us to get involved and their support is a major factor in our plans."

Our mining houses appear just as keen in return—clearly, with good reason.

Angola

UNITA's Valentim Says Organization in Huambo 'to Stay'

MB0408172893 Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Galo
Negro in Portuguese 0600 GMT 4 Aug 93

["Excerpts" of speech by Dr. Jorge Valentim, National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, UNITA, information minister, on the occasion of UNITA President Jonas Savimbi's 59th birthday in Huambo on 3 August]

[Text] Dear compatriots, brothers, and sisters: The fact that we are meeting here on 3 August 1993 is a major victory. The message is that we are in Huambo, we are here to stay. Huambo (?will be the) [word indistinct] of UNITA [words indistinct] our beloved President Dr. Savimbi and the glorious Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA]. [applause]

There must be no illusions [words indistinct] (?agitators) claiming that UNITA will leave Huambo. It would be better for them to [words indistinct] because we are going to stay here forever. [applause] [crowd shouts: "Long live the resistance of the people of Huambo!"]

We are to stay as men of profound conviction. Huambo belongs to the Angolan people. Huambo belongs to UNITA. We are going to stay here in major strength. No one will get here. [applause]

With this introductory note, I would like to read a small speech concerning a historical date being celebrated throughout Angolan territory. That day is 3 August, the date of our beloved President Dr. Jonas Malheiro Savimbi's birth. It is with much joy and profound patriotism that we all commemorate our beloved president's birthday today. It is our day. We, the real Angolan family [words indistinct] also. Let us go forward! We are on the right path! Let us follow our path, because we are certain we will win [words indistinct] victory and we will win! [applause]

Nothing can (?disrupt) us. Nothing can take away our gains concerning freedom, real democracy, dignity, and safety for all Angolan people. We (?are ready and deserving) of this victory. We ask: Are you also ready? [words indistinct] dear compatriot: The [words indistinct] (?moment) has arrived. More than ever before, let us take advantage of this day to (?celebrate) together. Huambo will be ours forever. Our hearts will [words indistinct] under UNITA's leadership [words indistinct]. [applause]

No one is going to take Huambo away from us. No one must (?come to tell us) that we are going to lose Huambo. We are here (?alone) [words indistinct] Angola's national resistance throughout Angolan territory. (?Behavior) of this kind is a provocation. We cannot tolerate provocation forever. [applause]

Dear compatriots, whoever analyzes the political and military situation in the country would (?find) that our glorious FALA forces have achieved great victories throughout Angolan territory. For our survival as Angolans in our own fatherland, we must stay and continue to stay in Huambo, Uige, Cafunfo, Jamba, and elsewhere. We shall do everything in our power to live up [words indistinct] patriotic. We have all sworn before universal history that we want to be free men and women. We want to be united behind the sacred brethren of the fatherland. Angolan men and women of different races, religious beliefs, tribes, or political parties: Let us follow the dictum, one out of many. We did not choose to go into armed conflict. We did not begin the armed conflict. The armed conflict was imposed on us by the illegal minority regime, which emerged from the massive and shameful fraud at the September 1992 elections.

The situation came to a head when the reactionary, illegitimate, and (?irrational) Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party government decided to massacre large numbers of Angolan people in October, November, and December of last year, as well as January of this year. We lost many thousands of compatriots, UNITA members, and UNITA sympathizers in that horrible carnage. They were killed, buried alive, burned, and their property destroyed. In that catastrophe, in that holocaust, we lost beloved comrades in the struggle, who had long marched with us. They included UNITA Vice President Engineer Jeremias Chitunda, Secretary General Mango Alicerces, and Engineer Salupeto Pena, head of the UNITA team to the Joint Political and Military Commission. May eternal glory be given those men!

Further Reportage on Government Attacks on Huambo

UNITA Positions Targeted

MB0408201293 London BBC World Service in English
1830 GMT 4 Aug 93

[Report from Luanda by BBC correspondent Chris Simpson and telephone interview with Christophe Hamische, head of the International Committee of the Red Cross delegation in Luanda, by BBC correspondent Akwe Amosu during the "Focus on Africa" program on 4 August]

[Text] [Announcer] Angolan Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA] government forces are once again launching air attacks on targets around the city of Huambo, in the central highlands. It has been in the hands of National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] rebels for the past five months. They captured it on the crest of the wave of military successes after the resumption of the civil war, but there have been signs of the tide turning. The government has held on to the besieged towns of Cuito and Menongue and recently captured the strategic town of Cubal, west of Huambo. From Luanda, Chris Simpson reports:

[Begin Simpson recording] Five months after its capture by UNITA forces, Huambo is very much back in the war. This is not the first time it has been subjected to aerial bombardment by the government, and it probably won't be the last. As UNITA's self-styled capital, Huambo is an obvious target, although the Angolan military emphasized yesterday that it was UNITA's military positions its aircraft were after. It is all part and parcel of the war, a senior military official told the BBC.

That may be scant consolation to the International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC], whose newly reopened office in Huambo was hit by two rockets in an attack this morning. The bombing raids are nominally in retaliation for UNITA's continuing attacks on Cuito, just 90 km east of Huambo. The Angolan military claim that Cuito is still secure, despite the presence of eight UNITA battalions, and that Jonas Savimbi's movement is suffering heavy losses. The same goes for Menongue, whose bishop, Don (Jose de Queiros Alves) on Tuesday [3 August] issued a plaintive appeal for peace, warning that 25 people were dying each day from hunger and disease. The fact that UNITA have still to take either Cuito or Menongue, not to mention Luena or Malange, two other provincial capitals which come under pressure, can be taken as a sure sign of UNITA's weakness, at least according to the more optimistic Angolan military pundits. The situation is still critical, one told the BBC, but our army is getting stronger now. He pointed to a string of victories in recent weeks, the most notable being the recapture of Cubal and Bocoio, in Benguela Province, with further gains in Moxico and Huila Provinces.

There is no August offensive, the BBC was told, but the situation is changing to our advantage. [end recording]

[Announcer] As you have just heard, the ICRC claims that its facilities in Huambo have been hit in a government air raid, just as the Red Cross has been desperate to extend its activities. On the line to Luanda, Akwe Amosu asked Christophe Hamische, of the ICRC, what according to his information had happened:

[Begin recording] [Hamische] I was informed at about 10 to 1200 [1050 GMT] this morning, by our delegate who is based in Huambo, that his residence and office were hit at about 1000 by one 500-kg bomb dropped by an aircraft. Another bomb of the same size apparently has hit the car that we used up there, with radio equipment. The delegate informed me that he is obliged to leave the city due to the security situation. He informed me also that [words indistinct] civilian population in Huambo were hit by rockets and that there was (?dozens) of dead and wounded.

[Amosu] So, basically, the government Armed Forces have done a raid across the city and they have not only hit you, but they have hit civilians.

[Hamische] I have been informed by our delegate that the military activities, aid activities, started on Monday [2 August] morning, and it was ongoing through to today. We do not know exactly how many people have been hit

and what quarters have been hit, but according to our delegate—who, of course, had to hide himself—many civilians have been hit.

[Amosu] It sounds as though, if he feels he has to leave for his own security, that it is pretty intensive.

[Hamische] Well, that was his statement to me. I asked him about the intensity of the fighting. He has said that, for his own security and the security of the local staff, he is going to withdraw to a nearby municipio [district]. He did not, of course, give me the indication for security reasons. I plan to have a contact with him tomorrow morning. We are determined to continue. We have a medical team waiting here in Luanda in order to go out there. We have logistical material, medicines ready, and we just hope that those parties for once will understand the need for a limited humanitarian activity.

[Amosu] But are we looking at the beginning of a new battle for Huambo, do you think?

[Hamische] I think it is very difficult to say. Of course, I do not have all the information necessary to say that. Whatever is going to happen, it is important that international humanitarian organizations are present on the spot in order to save lives, which we could not do in the last battle of Huambo, and I think that was a big failure for all of us. [end recording]

UNITA Representative on Bombing

LD0508104793 Lisbon RDP Antena 1 Radio Network
in Portuguese 0800 GMT 5 Aug 93

[Excerpt] In Brussels, the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] delegation has just said that the Angolan Air Force has been bombing Huambo for the last two days. Bombs are being dropped at the moment. The statement came from Alcides Sakala, head of the UNITA delegation in Brussels, in a telephone conversation with Virgilio Proenca in Brussels:

[Begin Sakala recording] UNITA is informing the world that since 3 August, the Angolan Air Force has been bombing the city of Huambo and its outskirts. These actions, fit for madmen, are aimed at destroying parts of the infrastructure, such as hospitals, schools, nurseries, and factories. They are also aimed at causing the greatest number of civilian deaths, based on the example of the Luanda massacre, but are above all aimed at killing foreigners who chose to stay in Huambo.

The house of the International Red Cross representative has been destroyed; despite all the signs that were up, the house was destroyed. The representative escaped death. These massacres are being carried out with the conniving silence of certain European governments. The MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] has also prevented Nigerian General (Garruba) and UN representative Blondin from traveling to Huambo on a peace mission. [end recording]

That was an official UNITA communique just issued in Brussels by Alcides Sakala. [passage omitted]

FAA Spokesman on Raids

MB0508075993 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 0600 GMT 5 Aug 93

[Interview with Brigadier General Jose Manuel Jota, spokesman of the Angolan Armed Forces General Staff, in Benguela on 4 August]

[Text] The Angolan Air Force yesterday bombed and destroyed installations of the general staff of Jonas Savimbi's troops in accordance with the framework of actions aimed at expelling the enemy from areas it is occupying. In an interview with the press in Benguela, Brigadier General Jose Manuel Jota, Angolan Armed Forces [FAA] General Staff spokesman, spoke about the main operations launched by the Air Force over the past 24 hours:

[Begin Jota recording] More than 30 raids [preceding word in English] have been launched throughout Huambo Province, and they were particularly directed against moving convoys and military bases in Huambo's outlying areas and military targets identified in the city of Huambo. Two convoys were destroyed, one between Alto Uama and Bailundo, and the other between Huambo and Cachingues. We cannot determine precisely the [word indistinct] forces. Attacks are mainly being launched by the Air Force. On the ground there are complementary actions, but these are still very far from [word indistinct] the raids are currently being directed at the entire Huambo and Bie Provinces. [end recording]

Concerning installations of the International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC], which may have been hit during the raid, Brig. Jota admitted that was possible because it is located near the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA] General Staff.

[Begin Jota recording] I neither confirm nor deny the destruction of the ICRC installations. Throughout today the raids on National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] positions continued all over the central plateau, and our forces bombed well-located targets in the city of Huambo. One of the targets was the FALA General Staff, which operates beside the ICRC installations. So, the Angolan Air Force bombed the FALA General Staff installations, which are located near the ICRC installations. If the installations were hit, it was simply due to the fact that they are close to the FALA General Staff building. [end recording]

The FAA General Staff spokesman said the clashes will continue because the coming days are decisive.

[Begin Jota recording] The FAA operations will continue because this is the only way we can show the enemy forces that the Angolan conflict cannot be solved through

military means and that the FAA is ready to prevent UNITA from attaining its goal, which is to take power by force. [end recording]

Official Sets Conditions for Assistance to Huambo

MB0508120793 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 5 Aug 93

[Text] Social Reintegration Minister Norberto dos Santos has said in Huila that relief supplies will not be sent to Huambo if they are also not sent to other cities.

[Begin Santos recording] Recently, we discussed with the United Nations a new program and the government has already given its views in a proposal it presented to the organization. I believe next week they will study this issue with the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA]. I should underline that the government will not allow supplies into Huambo if food aid is not sent to the cities of Cuito and Menongue. [end recording]

Minister Norberto dos Santos also revealed that more than 20 tonnes of assorted goods will soon arrive from the United States to assist war victims.

[Begin Santos recording] The United States has guaranteed about 20,000 tonnes of assorted goods. We have just received reports that about 30,000 tonnes are stored in Namibia, which will be evacuated to the Namibe ports. Part of the goods will remain in Namibe, part in Benguela, and part will be sent to Luanda. The government will also buy some goods for distribution. [end recording]

Television Reports UNITA Using Toxic Bombs in Cuito

MB0408202993 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 4 Aug 93

[Text] Toxic shells fired by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] over the city of Cuito are causing blindness among civilians. Our correspondent in Bie Province reports shelling increased over the last few hours:

[Begin unidentified correspondent recording] The political and military situation in Cuito has worsened over the last few days. More than 50 people have lost their lives over the last few hours because UNITA has intensified its shelling. Direct fighting has also increased. There was intense shooting early this morning. The people still do not know what to do.

UNITA is using piercing [perforantes] shells and toxic weapons, which are blinding the people. The houses have all been destroyed by the long-range artillery of the men of the Black Cockerel, who remorselessly shell the city. In the city of Cuito, people are already living under the ruins of damaged housing. The people continue to demand that governmental and nongovernmental institutions grant them aid supplies as quickly as possible.

Famine is claiming more lives every day; it used to claim an average of 10 lives daily, but now it claims 15. Anemia is also one of the principal causes of death among the people. In short, there is no longer life in Cuito. [end recording]

Dos Santos Favors UN Forces in Country After Cease-Fire

MB0408134193 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 0600 GMT 4 Aug 93

[Text] Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos says he favors sending blue helmets to Angola only after the cease-fire to avoid situations such as those in Somalia and Bosnia. Speaking in an interview with the Portuguese DIARIO DE NOTICIAS newspaper, the Angolan president said he does not believe the blue helmets have a dissuading role, since they could be a strange element in the battle between the belligerent forces. Dos Santos rejected proposals for a federal government and division of Angola between north and south, favored by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA]. Within this framework, he supported the principle of decentralization stipulated in the Angolan Constitution. On this issue, he said studies for the dimension of the decentralization will soon be carried out and this will include Cabinda Province, which receives 10 percent of the fuel it produces. On Angola's economic crisis, the president of the Republic recalled that it is linked to the military situation, stressing that we cannot see the monetary economy problem out of the context of war fringing the country.

Referring to the recent establishment of diplomatic relations with the United States following the recognition of the Angolan Government by the Clinton administration, he underlined the need to fully normalize the mutually advantageous relations between the two countries, as dictated the principles governing relations between states. He warned that the political change which occurred as a result of normalization of relations between Angola and the United States does not mean that all instruments of power in that country agree with White House policy.

Mozambique

Dhlakama-Chissano Meeting Scheduled for 'Next Week'

MB0408114393 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 0500 GMT 4 Aug 93

[Text] Afonso Dhlakama, leader of the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo], has announced that he will meet President Chissano next week. Dhlakama was speaking to Mozambican and foreign journalists who left for Maringue to witness the departure of 50 Renamo military officers for Nyanga Center in Zimbabwe, where they will be trained as instructors for the future Mozambican army. The Renamo leader said that he will discuss

with President Chissano issues concerning territorial administration, demobilization, formation of the future army, elections, and refugees.

Dhlakama Withdraws Demands on Renamo Governors

MB0408123393 London BBC World Service in English 1830 GMT 3 Aug 93

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] A new crisis may be looming in Mozambique, where progress toward the demobilization of Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] and Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] forces has been dogged by delays. Two weeks ago, the Renamo leader, Afonso Dhlakama, demanded that his organization be given the governorship of five of Mozambique's 10 provinces, and he has threatened to withdraw from the process if they didn't get their way. But the government says the demand was not part of last year's peace accord signed in Rome. Well, our colleague Barnaby Philips has just been up to Renamo headquarters at Maringue, where he talked to Mr. Dhlakama. On the line to Maputo, Mick Slatter asked him if the Renamo leader is still sticking to his guns.

[Begin recording] [Philips] No, he would appear to be making a significant concession now. He said, and I quote, it is not important that these governors actually come from Renamo. What we don't want is 11 Frelimo party governors, and a possible compromise, he said, would be that some neutral, some impartial people—I don't know who would select them—would be appointed governors and would replace the present Frelimo party members. Then he said that with that issue out of the way or a possible compromise, he was now looking forward to coming to Maputo next week to meet President Chissano, who he referred to repeatedly as his brother.

[Slatter] There is some concern that these various issues, this one in particular, and others are just being thrown in the way by Renamo, may be just creating confusion to slow down the rate of negotiations. Do you think there is any truth to that?

[Philips] Well, of course, I put the accusation to Afonso Dhlakama, and he said the problem with Renamo is they get such a terrible [words indistinct] the government media, the government newspapers, and radio here in Maputo will always portray them as slowing down the process and wasting time, whereas his position is that it is the government who is throwing all the spanners in the works. It is the government which is unilaterally attacking Renamo bases, and if only people would give Renamo the time of day and listen to what they had to say, he would appreciate that. They are not deliberately wasting time. They, so Afonso Dhlakama claims, want free and fair elections as soon as possible.

[Slatter] When you met him face to face today, did he strike you as a man desperate to get an agreement?

[Philips] He is certainly a charming man. He is modest. He has a very unassuming manner. He assured me that all he wanted was free elections, and he said: I will be a member, a loyal member of the opposition if I lose those elections. I fought for democracy. What we have reached so far, I am satisfied with. That is his official position.

[Slatter] Now, you went up to Renamo headquarters of Maringue. What exactly is it like?

[Philips] Well, you'd fly over it and you wouldn't even know it was there. It is a dirt runaway. We were then taken off in some Land Rover through the bush for about 20 minutes, and suddenly there we were in Maringue headquarters. But you really had to peer into the bushes to see the hut. It is very simple—the couple of generators—I saw the communication center, which is literally just a hut with a generator and a fax machine and a satellite dish sticking out the top. They have problems with running water. They say that they can't always get enough food. It is not luxurious, and it is right out in the middle of the bush. I mean, we flew—and for a good hour before we were flying over thick forest—without seeing a single person.

[Slatter] Is there high security around? I mean, is there some sort of paranoia, or is it very relaxed there?

[Philips] I think it is relaxed because it is just so remote. I mean, it is nowhere near any part that the government controls. Of course, Afonso Dhlakama, or President Dhlakama as everyone calls him there, has his own security. There are soldiers around him, but no, the atmosphere is relaxed. [end recording]

Government Rejects Opposition's Proposal on NEC Makeup

MB0408150893 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1030 GMT 4 Aug 93

[Report by Emilio Manhique]

[Text] The government and the opposition continue a tug-of-war over the composition of the National Elections Commission. The government has rejected the proposal advanced by the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo], Mozambique United Front [Fumo], and the 12 [unarmed opposition parties] because it believes such a proposal would be disadvantageous, as two-thirds of the officials in the commission would belong to the opposition. The opposition has been trying to persuade the government to accept the proposal, and to that end, it has noted the need for democracy and national reconciliation. Commenting on the proposal, however, an observer has told Radio Mozambique that no government has the capacity to commit suicide.

Multiparty Talks Adjourned at Government Request

MB0408173693 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1600 GMT 4 Aug 93

[Report by Emilio Manhique]

[Text] Good afternoon. Our warmest greetings. The proceedings of the multiparty meeting have been adjourned at the government's request. The government wants to convey its views to the political parties concerning its position on the composition of the National Elections Commission [CNE].

The government's request was presented by State Administration Minister Aguiar Mazula, who recalled what had been said at the Rome talks in connection with this issue. He said that, at the time, the Mozambique National Resistance had asked for one-third of the seats for itself and had rejected the idea that other parties should have seats in the CNE, accusing the government of creating the aforesaid parties. He recalled that, in terms of the peace accords, it was decided that the government would be responsible for creating the CNE, and he added that is precisely what the government intends to do by seeking a balanced representation within the CNE.

Government Proposals at Resumed Talks

MB0508120493 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 0800 GMT 5 Aug 93

[Text] The government has just presented a counterproposal on the composition of the National Electoral Council [CNE]. The proposal, presented by State Administration Minister Aguiar Mazula, states that the CNE consists of 21 members, 11 appointed by the government, seven by the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo], and three by political parties excluding Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] and Renamo. According to the proposal, the CNE should have a chairman appointed by the government and two deputy presidents, one appointed by Renamo, and the other by the remaining political parties. The Mozambique United Front-Democratic Convergence and National Reconstruction Party [Fumo-PCDRN] was the first to react to this counterproposal stating that it was not very different from the draft on electoral law. The Fumo-PCDRN representative accused the government of once more trying to impose its supremacy over the opposition parties. The group of the 12 unarmed parties requested the meeting be adjourned in order for them to analyze, reflect, and hold consultations on the proposal. The request was accepted by Justice Minister Ossumane Ali Dauto who is presiding over the multiparty conference.

Renamo Threatens Retaliation for Government Attacks

LD0408141893 Lisbon Radio Renascenca in Portuguese to Europe 1300 GMT 4 Aug 93

[Text] Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] is threatening to retaliate and attack a strategic government target soon if the Mozambican Armed Forces continue with their offensives against Renamo bases. This warning was made in a communique issued today by Renamo. It adds that Renamo did nothing after being attacked on 29 July in Bileme Macia. At the time, the Renamo soldiers withdrew without reacting to the alleged provocation of the Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] troops.

Argentine Personnel Said To Man Mobile Field Hospital

MB0508065393 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2122 GMT 4 Aug 93

[Text] Johannesburg Aug 4 SAPA—A mobile field hospital that was used during the Falklands war has been deployed in Mozambique.

SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] radio news reporters, who visited the hospital outside Maputo on Wednesday, said 40 Argentinian medical personnel were manning the work station.

Senior surgeon Dr Osvaldo Villanveva said the 30-bed field hospital included operating theatres and other facilities to deal with all cases except neuro or open-heart surgery.

Swaziland

King Mswati Addresses SADC Delegation on Elections

MB0408075093 Mbabane Swazi Television in English 1730 GMT 3 Aug 93

[Text] His majesty the king has assured the nation that the coming national elections will be held very soon. The king made this remark last night at Ludzidzini royal residence when he received two messages from the SADC's [Southern African Development Community] Dr. Quett Masire of Botswana and the president of the Frontline States, Mr. Robert Mugabe. Here is the king:

[Begin King Mswati recording in progress] ...delighted especially to say that we are delighted to be having the meeting of SADC, which is going to be held here in Swaziland in September. And there are so many preparations which have been done, and we are certainly looking forward for the actual meeting when it actually takes place. And I would like to say that I have also been delighted having to remember a long, long time when the meeting was taking place in other countries I was made to be vice-president for SADC. I'd like to say that I was very much delighted to hear those news, and I must tell

you that at your visit here in Swaziland you will find us at a stage where we are preparing ourselves for elections which we should be having them.

They are not the first time of elections, but this one it's a little bit different from the one which we used to have. We used to have one which was introduced by King Sobhuza, and as time goes on we've looked at some other ways about redoing the way which we were doing in the past. So now the first election which is a little bit different from the one we used to have, we should be having it in these coming few weeks.

And after we finished those elections we will then take the role of trying to improve our economy because I believe that as we improve our political situation, we should put those two things together. We mustn't leave one behind and Swaziland is looking forward that when we actually starting this process of improving our economy, and knowing that SADC is doing quite a lot of improving our living standards of all our members, we will be certainly looking forward in working with SADC and perhaps even ask for some advise.

Shortly, I'm delighted to work with you and your delegation. I know this is a short visit. I hope you will enjoy the visit. Thank you very much. [end recording]

The leader of the delegation, who is also the minister for foreign affairs, Mrs. Gaositwe Chiepe of Botswana, also made a few remarks.

[Begin Chiepe recording] We have come, as you have said Your Majesty, from the chairman of SADC, President Masire, as well as from the chairman of the Frontline States, President Mugabe. Together they have made consultations and have sent a message of felicitations, and also to discuss one or two things with your majesty's government regarding the coming SADC meeting which you will be hosting, and so that is what we will be discussing.

As for your political exercise, we are solidly behind you. We wish you well, and this is a time change; life is not static, and so we are not surprised that you are making changes in your way of doing things here. If there's anything the SADC countries can do individually or collectively, they will be happy to show their solidarity to Swaziland. [end recording]

King Discusses Elections, Relations With Germany

MB0408094493 Mbabane Radio Swaziland Network in English 1600 GMT 3 Aug 93

[Text] His majesty the king says Swaziland highly appreciates the experience shared by the German people with Swazis. Addressing the visiting member of Parliament, Mr. Michael (Gloss) at Ludzidzini this afternoon, the king said this experience has helped Swazis a great deal. He said the two countries have been friends for a long time adding that the visit by Mr. (Gloss) is a sign of

strengthening their existing cordial relations. The king said Mr. (Gloss) has visited the country during a period of crucial changes in the political life of the Swazi nation.

He said after the forthcoming elections the nation shall embark on yet another important exercise of improving the economy. The king said political freedom which is devoid of economic freedom is worthless. He said the country would be looking to friendly countries like Germany for assistance and advise where it is needed. Mr. (Gloss) said the Swazi people are known for their kindness among the German people.

Speaking about the changes taking place in southern Africa, he expressed the hope that the change in South Africa will be peaceful so that the people of the southern African region could enjoy peaceful life. He also expressed the hope that the coming elections would be a success. The king also bade farewell to the outgoing German ambassador, Mr. Jurgen Gehl.

The visiting member of parliament, Mr. (Gloss), accompanied by the German ambassador to Swaziland based in Mozambique, today called on the prime minister, Mr. Obed Dlamini, at Government House. During their discussions, the prime minister highlighted the good relationship that exists between the two countries. The prime minister expressed government's appreciation for the various forms of aid the Kingdom of Swaziland continues to get from Germany, especially in the field of investment to the Kingdom of Swaziland.

The Swazi premier said he was very much aware of the German unification problems, but appealed to the German Government for more aid. The prime minister said Swaziland follows events in South Africa with keen interest, adding that Swaziland will continue to maintain good relationship with whosoever comes into power in South Africa.

Turning to Mozambique, the prime minister expressed his hope that peace would prevail in that country following the number of years that country faced political instability. The German ambassador also took a chance to bid farewell to the prime minister now that he has been posted to Bangladesh. The German ambassador asked the prime minister that the cooperation accorded to him be given to his successor. The prime minister wished him success in his latest assignments.

Zambia

Government Expresses 'Concern' Over Nigerian Politics

MB0408123593 Lusaka Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 0500 GMT 4 Aug 93

[Text] Zambia has expressed concern at the recent obstacles toward handing over of power to civilians in Nigeria. Foreign Affairs Minister Mr. Vernon Mwaanga says Zambia hopes that the people of Nigeria, who had overcome many difficulties in the past, would approach

the current situation with maturity and fortitude. Mr. Mwaanga said this when he met a special envoy sent by Nigerian head of state, General Ibrahim Babangida, to deliver a message to President Chiluba concerning the recent political and constitutional developments in Nigeria. The special envoy, Colonel (Iwan Gwadebe), was accompanied by ambassador (Ibrahim Zakari) from the President's Office, Ambassador (Peter Onu), former assistant secretary general of the Organization of African Unity, and Chief Lawrence Agubuzo, the Nigerian high commissioner to Zambia.

Zimbabwe

Farmers Hire UK Lawyer To Challenge State on Land Issue

MB0408075693 Gaborone Radio Botswana Network in English 1910 GMT 3 Aug 93

[Text] Reports from Zimbabwe say some Zimbabwean farmers, angered by the government's policy to forcibly buy their land, have hired a top British lawyer to challenge the case in court. A businessman involved in the case, Mr. Clive Hussey, told the REUTERS news agency that individual farmers are mounting the legal challenge because it is the only way they can protest against the violation of basic human rights.

The farmers have hired Mr. Sydney Kentridge from Britain to challenge President Robert Mugabe's government in court over its Land Acquisition Act of 1992. Mr. Hussey, a member of the opposition Forum Party of Zimbabwe, said he was backing the farmers' case financially as an individual.

The Zimbabwean Government has earmarked more than 70 farms, owned mainly by whites, to be bought by the state. The government hopes to resettle tens of thousands of landless blacks in a population of 10 million. Under the act, farmers are not allowed to contest the government's designation of farmers or the buy-out price. Zimbabwe's 4,500 white farmers have threatened to take their case to the International Court of Justice in The Hague.

Government Firm on Plan

MB0508143093 Windhoek Namibian Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 0500 GMT 5 Aug 93

[Text] Zimbabwe's agriculture minister has told white commercial farmers that the government will not back down on its plans to make them sell their land, because without land reform, there will be social strife. At the start of the annual congress of the Commercial Farmers' Union, Home Affairs Minister Dumiso Dabengwa asked white farmers to cooperate with the government in [words indistinct] confrontation will be futile.

(?Farming has become) an issue of dispute in Zimbabwe since President Robert Mugabe decided to buy out more

than 70 large farms to create small holdings for thousands of landless Zimbabweans. The Land Acquisition Act prevents farmers from going to court to challenge either the selection of farms or the price the government pays. President Mugabe threatened last month to take over the farmer's land without compensation if they don't offer it.

Editorial Calls for Review of 'Flawed' Constitution

MB0508142493 Harare THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE
in English 29 Jul 93 p 4

[Unattributed editorial]

[Text] The impending Supreme Court case on the land issue, government's displeasure with the decision of the same court to set aside death sentences it passed upon four condemned prisoners, and the presence of the Presidential Powers (Temporary Measures) Act, all vividly illustrate that Zimbabwe's seriously flawed Constitution does not guarantee the rule of law and basic rights.

Since Zimbabwe's independence in 1980, the ZANU (PF) [Zimbabwe African National Union] [Patriotic Front] government has repeatedly attacked the Constitution which it inherited as a result of the Lancaster House negotiations. Three years after the removal of entrenched Lancaster House clauses, no comprehensive exercise to review the Constitution has been carried out.

Instead, government has blown hot and cold on the issue of a durable constitution. In the interim it has resorted to piecemeal changes which have in a number of instances, introduced many inconsistencies. Most of these changes have been effected to accommodate the narrow political interests of the ruling party and government.

This state of affairs cannot be allowed to continue, and definitely cries out for a major overhaul of our Constitution, once and for all. There is need to realise that a country's constitution is not just another document which can be altered and interfered with willy-nilly. For the record, there have been 12 amendments to the Constitution since 1980, and none of these have gone towards entrenching the rule of law. We currently have a constitution that guarantees basic rights, but through certain qualifications and exceptions, erodes these rights. It is not self-enduring and allows for unnecessary intervention from the Executive and Parliament.

When either the Executive or Parliament do not agree with a court ruling, as happened in the prisoners condemned to hang, they have the liberty to intervene by tampering with the Constitution so that it reflects their own interpretation. Apart from undermining the rule of law, this practice is

tantamount to moving the goal posts to suit the interests of individual players. This promotes anarchy.

When the president does not agree with a court judgement he also has recourse to the Presidential (Temporary Measures) Act to suspend such judgements.

The fact that this Act might have been recently used to benefit a deserving case does not detract from the fact that it is an undesirable law. It is reminiscent of the powers that were exercised by despotic monarchies centuries back. These powers are no longer the norm in civilised societies. It is also basically a law enacted to replace the Emergency Powers Act.

It is highly dangerous to entrust one individual with such sweeping powers. The current incumbent might use them in a discretionary manner but there is no guarantee that all those who will occupy that office will use the powers wisely hence the need to remove the possibility of these powers being abused by dictatorial and autocratic presidents. Our society should always be wary of putting too much power in the hands of a single individual no matter how well meaning they might appear to be.

At present, the Constitution is as strong as the weak political representation that we have in Parliament. This is because Parliament has open-ended powers to alter the Constitution.

Zimbabweans are not guaranteed their basic human rights as long as the executive arm of government and Parliament can introduce exceptions to the Bill of Rights through the Constitution. The Constitution ought to guarantee all rights without exception. The possibility to erode these rights must be removed.

The Judiciary must have full capacity to decide on all matters brought before it in the full confidence that the Constitution and nothing else, should guide their judgement. Indeed, once a sound constitution is in place Parliament must be forbidden to effect any changes to its fundamental features.

Zimbabwe already has a Judiciary whose judgement on human rights issues is internationally respected. There is need to strengthen this by putting the Constitution above all else. The independence of the Judiciary should also be buttressed by ensuring that they do not owe allegiance to any political party, government or individual. Safeguards must be put in place to insulate the Judiciary from all sorts of pressures.

There is need to cultivate a political and civil culture that fully appreciates that the Constitution is the fundamental law of the land. For the rule of law to prevail in perpetuity, no institution or individual should consider themselves above the Constitution.

Liberia

ECOMOG Designates Areas for NPFL To Surrender

AB0408152293 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English 0900 GMT 4 Aug 93

[Text] The West African peacekeeping force, ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group], has designated areas for NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] fighters to surrender in accordance with the disarmament process.

Disclosing this on Monday [2 August] the deputy field commander Brigadier General John Addah said Harbel, Buchanan, and Kakata have been designated as areas for NPFL fighters to turn themselves in to ECOMOG. The DFC's [deputy field commander] statement followed an earlier one made by him on the BBC that some NPFL fighters who attempted to turn themselves in at Buchanan were turned back because the necessary security arrangements had not been worked out. The problem of logistics, which delayed the process, Gen. Addah said, has now been solved and that arrangements have been made with the National Readjustment Commission to provide for the fighters while they are undergoing rehabilitation.

Commenting on the proposed technical meeting with the NPFL to set up a joint cease-fire monitoring committee, he said ECOMOG has asked the NPFL to indicate points where their officials can be picked up. The talks are expected to begin in Monrovia on Friday [6 August]. It is widely believed that reception centers will be set up for ULIMO forces to turn themselves in to ECOMOG as well.

Nigeria

SDP Gives Abiola Majority Support in Presidency Bid

AB0408131593 Paris AFP in English 1203 GMT 4 Aug 93

[By Ade Obisesan]

[Text] Lagos, Aug 4 (AFP)—Moshood Abiola emerged stronger Wednesday [4 August] in his feud with the military government after winning majority support from his Social Democratic Party [SDP] for his bid to be recognized as Nigeria's elected president.

At a meeting in Abuja late Tuesday, 26 of the 30 SDP state chairmen defied their national executive and agreed that Abiola should be declared the winner of the voided June 12 presidential elections and take over as the country's civilian president on August 27, sources close to the meeting said Wednesday.

Last week, the national executives of the centre-left SDP and of the rival center-right National Republican Convention (NRC) agreed to form an interim government as

proposed by Nigeria's military ruler, Ibrahim Babangida, to end the political crisis sparked by the annulment of the June 12 election.

The decision by the SDP state chairmen widened a rift with the party's national executive and strengthened Abiola's hands in his showdown with the military, diplomats said.

In a statement released in Lagos Tuesday, the 56-year-old Abiola, who has consistently rejected the option of an interim government, said: "As the direct beneficiary of the mandate, I stand firm and resolute in upholding that mandate."

The decision of the SPD national executive to accept an interim government was taken by a "small clique" in the party "which has been acting without authority on behalf of the party", said Abiola, who presented himself as the president-elect.

In an interview with the Ogun state television, Abiola compared his struggle with former Philippine president Corazon Aquino's "people's power" campaign.

"What war did President Aquino, a lady, fight? She used the gun of the public opinion - the masses. She declared herself the winner, President of the Philippines against the incumbent."

Last Saturday, the government endorsed formation of an interim government which would take over on August 27 after eight years of military rule. It set up a preliminary committee to work out the details.

Abiola has also highlighted the "numerous threats" to his life and said he had to take measures to "preserve his personal security." He did not elaborate.

Abiola also received support from the Campaign for Democracy (CD), an umbrella grouping 40 human rights bodies, which has called for three days of anti-government demonstrations from August 12, to force the military to hand over power to Abiola on August 27.

At least 17 people were killed early last month when the CD sponsored a similar protest which degenerated into violence.

Meanwhile a gasoline shortage grew more acute in Lagos and neighbouring states, with long lines outside gas stations and reports of price gouging by private transport owners.

Drivers had to wait at least four hours to get gas in the Lagos metropolitan area. Officials attribute the shortage to hoarding and smuggling of gasoline to neighboring countries where prices are much higher.

Abiola Comments on Elections, Babangida Tactics

AB0408200793 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 4 Aug 93

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Nigeria's self-declared president-elect, Moshood Abiola, is once again throwing a big spinner into the country's political crisis. At the weekend, President Babangida accepted the deal apparently done by the two parties, Chief Abiola's SDP [Social Democratic Party] and the NRC [National Republican Convention], with the National Electoral Commission to set up an interim government to take over to take over from the military on August 27. But now, the SDP party chairmen from 26 of the 30 states have cried foul. They disagree with that, and go along with Chief Abiola's demand for the implementation of the June 12 election results. So nothing is at all cut and dried. Well, Chief Abiola is in London today, amid rumors that he has fled increasing threats to his personal security. Akwe Amosu asked him if he hadn't left behind a party deeply divided:

[Begin recording] [Abiola] No, the party is not very divided at all. The party is united. The chairman of the party, who is chairman of the Executive Committee, appeared to have decided to take his own course. That's all. Our party met on two occasions and decided they would stick by June 12, as all sensible parties will do. But, you know, some people felt that because of present difficulties, and because of the law or some attractive things which are dangled around, I mean, in front of them, they have a short-term advantage, and some people believe that the gun is more important than the majority of the people.

[Amosu] You say that it is only the leader of the party...

[Abiola, interrupting] The leader and only some elders in the party.

[Amosu] But, I mean, those people are important, aren't they? You might have the support of the grassroots, but you have lost the support of some of the key king-makers.

[Abiola] No, it is not true. I did not lose their support. They lost heart. Not everybody could look at a general, a dictator in the face, and say no, and keep saying no, no, no, as I have been doing. They kept saying: We will take the man out. I said let him out first. In any case, what is your business? I am the man saying this, you know, because I am the one mandated by the people to demand that this guy should go to sit down somewhere after eight years of pushing everybody around. I was not tired of fulfilling the mandate of the people, but they were all afraid. I do not know why they are afraid. We are all going to die once, and nobody is going to be buried before he is dead.

[Amosu] But the point that they make is that the military government has said that there is no way that they would see you sworn in as president on the 27th.

[Abiola] But what military government? Ibrahim Babangida has said that there is no way, because he still wants to sit on top of the country. They will leave that place. You see, a man... [pauses] He may have all the guns in this world, but guns are not the best way to rule the affairs of men. Men should be consulted and they are consulted. If he did not want the result of the election, why hold the election? He held the elections; he announced part of the results, and then says stop because he was afraid. No, he has (?burned) his boat.

[Amosu] But the point that a key member of your party, retired General Yar'adua, was making to me yesterday was that if there is no structure for him to hand over to, then he will not hand over...

[Abiola, interrupting] Because, because...

[Amosu, interrupting] If he has already said he won't hand over to you, whom will he hand over to?

[Abiola] Because... [pauses] Well, who is he to say who he will hand over to? He might as well be allowed to hand pick the person he wants to succeed him. Here is a man who, after eight years, is still as thirsty for power as on the first day. He is like a sheep in a salt market. Unless you carry the sheep from the salt, it will take so much salt it will poison itself. This guy is constituting himself into a poison for the political system. He has destroyed the economy anyway. If he does not leave, people should carry him out of the place.

[Amosu] Anybody listening to this will say that you are calling almost for an insurrection. You are calling for grass-roots (?rebellion).

[Abiola] Well, he is the one calling for confusion. If you do not want to honor the results of an election, why conduct it? Well, put the blame where it lies, for (?kingdom) sake. The fact that this guy was a dictator or a general should make the whole world lose its senses when matters about him are being discussed.

[Amosu] But how are you going to unseat him? He has the guns and you don't.

[Abiola] Come on, I did not vote for myself. I had only one vote. Fifty-eight point one percent of Nigerians are going to unseat him. You just wait and see. Thank you.

[Amosu] But how in practical terms is he going to leave? Are saying you want all those people to come out in the streets and protest?

[Abiola] I know... [pauses] No, listen. When they wanted to demonstrate in Lagos, I stopped them. The name you are going to call your child, you keep it inside you until the child is born. You are not the leader. I am. And I know when to call the shot and what shot to call. I am opposed to demonstrations like the one that they did in Lagos against my advice. One hundred and sixty-eight people were shot in the back as they were running away. I won't want any of my people to go and die. We will see more. I can assure you we will.

[Amosu] How come you are in London?

[Abiola] Because I want to be there.

[Amosu] I have heard that you have some trouble with security before you left.

[Abiola] No, I do not have any trouble with anything. I left because I want to leave. I am a free person, and no amount of guns is going to put me in shame. No.

[Amosu] We did get some reports that you had received death threats.

[Abiola] You can get... [pauses] There are all manners of reports. We have a saying in Africa: If you don't want sudden death, or if you are too afraid of sudden death, then don't take your father's title. The day you take your father's title, a lot of people would wish you dead, and so watch. My life is not even in my hand. My life is in the hands of the Almighty God. [end recording]

[In the "African News" portion of the same newscast, the following is added: "The man widely thought to have won the annulled presidential elections in Nigeria, Moshhood Abiola, has unexpectedly arrived in London. After arriving on a private jet in the middle of the night, Mr. Abiola said he was on his way to Washington for discussions on ways of making sure General Babangida hands over power to a civilian president as promised later this month."]

SDP Official on Abiola, Interim Government Decision

AB0408223593 Lagos NTA Television Network in English 2000 GMT 4 Aug 93

[Text] The national publicity secretary of the Social Democratic Party [SDP], Mr. Amos Idakula, has appealed to members of the party to guard against anything that is likely to cause disunity within the party. Answering questions from our political correspondent (Fobidu Amudu) in Abuja, Mr. Idakula stated that the decision of the party to opt for an interim government was a collective one, taken at the national consultative meeting of the party at which elders, governors, executive members, and the party's presidential candidate were fully represented.

On the issue of a unilateral decision said to have been taken by some state chairmen of the party disassociating themselves from the option of an interim government, Mr. Idakula said no executive meeting was called in which they could have made the decision and that even if they had taken such a decision, the party headquarters had not been notified in writing or otherwise.

[Begin Idakula recording] We called a meeting of the national quorum here in Abuja which comprised the national working committee, the party chairmen, 31 of them, the governors that we have, 14 of them, senators, members of the House of Representatives and elders, and thoroughly discussed the option of the interim national government and, at the end of the meeting, adopted this option and mandated the party to pursue with the NRC [National Republican Convention] and government the option of the interim national government.

That's what we did. We got our own counterparts of the NRC to agree that there was no need, that is not [words indistinct] feasible, to go for a fresh election. And we, therefore, asked the government to revisit, and that is the word, to revisit the option of the interim national government which, as far as we are concerned, our party had mandated to pursue, and the NRC had agree upon, and the initial proposal had come from government. So, there was a tripartite agreement, so to say, initially in accepting in principle the issue of the interim national government between the three parties.

On the issue of Chief M.K.O. Abiola, there is no time we have taken any decision pertaining to this which he has not been thoroughly briefed. On the 7th of July when we took this decision, he was invited to the meeting. Unfortunately, he was not able to come but his vice, Ambassador Babangana Kingibe, came to the meeting and he said yes when we took this decision. [end recording]

Mr. Idakula could not and would not see the present development as a problem in the party, stating that there are bound to be problems here and there since all the progressives were brought under one umbrella. He was, however, optimistic that whatever the problem was it should be resolved harmoniously through a consensus.

Government Comments on Abiola's 'Overseas Trips'

AB0508084093 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 0600 GMT 5 Aug 93

[Text] The federal government has commented on recent overseas trips by Chief M.K.O. Abiola. In a statement in Abuja yesterday, the secretary for information and culture, Comrade Uche Chukwumerije, said government welcomed the trips as being in keeping with the government's commitment to the constitutional freedom of Nigerian citizens to travel outside the country. However, he said government is aware that Chief Abiola's visit was set out to influence (?the newspapers in) the ongoing debate in the U.S. Congress on Nigeria. Comrade Chukwumerije also said government had investigated allegation of attempts to assassinate Chief Abiola and found it to be untrue.

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